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Niches of Protestantism in Mexico: Consequences of Vacuums of Political and Religious Influence

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Niches of Protestantism in Mexico: Consequences of Vacuums of Political and Religious Influence

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my family and friends. Gracias a mi mamá, por todas las velas y los rosarios. Gracias Alo, Nan, Oli, Erika, y Leonardo por tenerme paciencia. I also dedicate this dissertation to my friends, Bill, Pam, and Hanna, thank you for the endless supply of food and cupcakes. Ray and Debbie thank you for patiently listening to my ideas. Mary thank you for helping me keep the ducks in a row. I specially dedicate this work to my husband, Clint Davis, for sharing my excitement about niches of Protestantism.

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Niches of Protestantism in Mexico: Consequences of Vacuums of Political and Religious Influence

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Over the last hundred and fifty years, Mexico's religious landscape has been undergoing an unprecedented change. The Roman Catholic majority established since colonial times has been experiencing a steady decline in membership, while Protestant affiliation has been steadily growing in rural and urban areas. Although scholars have focused on different aspects of the growth of Protestantism since the 1960s, research that examines the early development of religious pluralism in Mexico has been limited. This research analyzes the interplay of structural and cultural factors as well as religious and political *vacuums* that promoted the early settlement and continued presence of Protestant groups in the states of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán between 1880 and 1960. A comparative historical approach highlights how changes in political, economic, social, and cultural spheres in southern Mexico contributed to religious pluralism and why early Protestantism followed a different pattern of expansion than that observed after the 1960s. Environmental, demographic, and socioeconomic factors influenced where Protestants settled and how they expanded to areas where the spiritual and practical needs of communities were not being met and how the social ties individuals built within those communities influenced the creation of religious pluralism. Social network analysis

underlines the importance of key actors, such as women and local pastors, in the development of niches of Protestantism particularly during the period of strong conflict between the state and the Roman Catholic Church and during the creation of a new national identity. Finally, the importance that some Protestant denominations gave to the individual, their internal organizational structure, and their ability to navigate the growing secular field was the last element that contributed to the creation of niches of Protestantism in southern Mexico. By including both quantitative and qualitative data, this dissertation provides a research methodology that could be tested quantitatively and be applied to other areas of Mexico in particular and of Latin America in general.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The following research focuses on analyzing the interplay of religious and political *vacuums* as well as structural and cultural factors that promoted the early settlement and continued presence of Protestant groups in the Mexican states of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán between 1880 and 1960. Firstly, this dissertation seeks to identify the structural and cultural variables that increased the likelihood of religious diversity developing overtime. Secondly, this dissertation seeks to identify the characteristics of the Protestant denominations that succeed in satisfying the spiritual and practical needs of the communities where they settled and the strategies that allow them to grow in a religious field previously dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. By accomplishing these two goals, we can began to understand the processes behind the creation of niches of religious pluralism and make it possible to gain a better understanding of why religious pluralism is increasing in Mexico in particular and in Latin America in general.

Although substantial research has focus in understanding the growth of Protestantism in Mexico since the 1960s, several questions remain unanswered particularly about the settlement of Protestant groups prior to the 1960s. In general, Mexico was not a target for large number of Protestant groups until the 19th century when small groups of Friends, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians began entering Mexico's religious field. Friends and Baptist occupied mostly the states bordering the northern frontier while Methodists and Presbyterian concentrated their religious efforts in central and occidental states. However, by the 1880s several Presbyterian congregations were well established in small communities in the southern state of Tabasco and in the state of

Yucatán by the 1920s. While some research suggests that the growth of Protestantism in northern Mexico was link to the cultural and economic connection to the southern United States, the growth of Protestantism in southern Mexico has not been fully address.

This dissertation will explain first, why and how the creation of institutional differentiation or *vacuums* in the political and religious spheres contributed to the creation of religious pluralism. Secondly, why Protestant settlement patterns differ from what scholars observed in Mexico after the 1960s. Third, this dissertation seeks to explain the different religious trajectories of the selected cases by analyzing the differences in the economic, social, and cultural practices of the three cases. Finally, this dissertation will provide a better understanding of the effect that the internal organization of religious groups has on the creation of religious diversity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Explanations

It was not until the 1970s that scholars in Mexico began to address the growth of Protestantism in Mexico. In the 1970s, scholars in Mexico departed from Durkheim's concept of solidarity and from Weber's construction of the Protestant ethic to theorize about the presence of Protestantism in Mexico as a reaction to the ending of the *"cargo"* (duty) or civil-religious hierarchies (Dow, 2005; Nutini, 2000; O'Connor, 1979; Tuner, 1979). In very general terms, the *cargo* is a socio-cultural-political community organization based on Roman Catholic ideology and traditions in Latin America. DeWalt's (DeWalt, 1975) study of twenty-six indigenous communities identified key characteristics of these civil-religious hierarchies. The first characteristic is that the "service" or "duty" provided by the individual towards the community, has no economic

remuneration (DeWalt, 1975). However, individuals experienced social and sometimes physical pressure to participate in the activities. Lack of participation in the *cargo* might result in an individual's inability to share in the distribution of some material resources or prestige among other serving members of the community. A second characteristic is that the person performing the *cargo* fulfilled most, if not all of the duties associated with the running of the civil and/or religious organizations of which he is in charge in exchange for prestige (DeWalt, 1975). Finally, the duties were rotated among members of the community; therefore ensuring that the participation occurs in a hierarchical order with many people serving, or occupying, lower status activities and a few individuals serving at the most prestigious duties (DeWalt, 1975).

The above theoretical explanations were applied to rural and ethnic communities organized around the *cargo* and in which this type of organization has been a source of social and cultural solidarity (Bastian, 1996). Moreover, as the community encounters social and cultural changes driven by economic development, members of the community seek to break away from economic and social burdens placed by the *cargos* and use new religious traditions to distance themselves from other members of the community (Bastian, 1996; Nutini, 2000; O'Connor, 1979; Tuner, 1979). This interpretation has been used to explain some changes in communities across several regions of Mexico. However, it does not explain the presence of Protestantism in rural communities where the *cargo* organization did not provide a strong source of solidarity, such as the case of Tabasco, or why Protestantism did not start in Campeche and Yucatán where the *cargo* system was strongly in place since the 1700s.

Dow (2005) has identified three main explanatory approaches in the literature (1) psychological, (2) materialistic, and (3) historical, which are useful to addressing religious changes in Mexico. For example, authors proposed psychological explanations

and argued that the theological and practical rituals of some non-Roman Catholic traditions, particularly Pentecostal, Neo-Pentecostal, and New Age, are similar to native rituals that deal with personal and familial problems (Garma Navarro & Leatham, 2004). Some researchers following this same perspective have also argued that Pentecostal traditions appealed to indigenous people in Latin America because those shared similarities with their native healing and spiritual practices (see Dow, 2005; Fortuny Loret de Mola, 1994). For example, Hagan's (Hagan, 2002) research involved descriptions of how Pentecostal pastors among the Maya K'che' in Guatemala held *ayunos* (fasting and prayers) at sacred Maya sites to ask God for guidance. However, other researchers have found increasing tensions and violence between Protestants and traditional shamans particularly in southern Mexico (Garma Navarro, 2011). Overall, studies done by Hagan in Guatemala and Turner in Southern Mexico found that individuals in some indigenous communities that had access to the networks provided by Protestant congregations were better equipped to fulfill their daily emotional needs, especially in areas of high migration, poverty, social conflict, and low economic development (Hagan, 2002; Tuner, 1979).

In addition, researchers have argued that Protestant organizations provide social spaces where disenfranchised members of the community, particularly women and ethnic minorities, can pool their limited resources to face a myriad of social problems, as a source of mobilization, adaptation, identity building or to confront machismo (see Annis, 2000; Chesnut, 2000; Chesnutt, 2003; Anne Motley Hallum, 2003). While the preceding theoretical explanations take into account individual psychological experience, they do not address the processes by which the characteristics of a community hinder or promote the presence and growth of religious diversity. Moreover, it seems unlikely that psychological needs vary systematically between states.

Materialistic or economic explanations have generally explained the growth of Protestant traditions in Mexico as a result of changes in economic activities, particularly in the northern border (Dow, 2005). Bowen, for example, argued that the diffusion of Protestantism in the northern Mexican states was tied to the economic relationship this region had with the Southern United States, especially with the increase in *Maquiladoras* (foreign-owned factories) in the states bordering the United States (Bowen, 1996). While economic explanations may help explain the evident growth of Protestantism in the northern states, they do not address the early and continued presence of Protestant groups in the least economically developed southern Mexican states, such as Tabasco, and the lack of Protestant groups in the more economically developed states of Campeche and Yucatán.

Historical explanations have generally viewed the presence of Protestant groups as an outgrowth of the conflict between the emerging states in Latin America and the Roman Catholic Church (see Bastian, 1993; Dow, 2005; Miguez-Bonino, 1997; Míguez-Bonino, 1999; Sinclair, 1999; Smilde, 1999). While this historical approach helps explain the presence and growth of Protestant affiliation in Mexico during the *Cristero* Rebellion[1], it does not explain why Protestant groups continued to grow after the conflict ended in the 1930s and the Roman Catholic Church regained most of the power and prestige that lost during the rebellion. This approach alone is also not enough to explain why it took almost seventy years after the conflict between the state and the Roman Catholic Church began in the 1820s for Protestant groups to settled and grow in Mexico.

[1] The *Cristero* Rebellion refers to the armed conflict between Roman Catholic citizens (*cristeros*) and the Mexican Federal Army that took place as a response to the anticlerical articles of the 1917 Mexican Constitution. Although the formal rebellion started in 1927 and ended in 1929, conflict between Roman Catholic citizens and the federal government army occurred in several northern, occidental, and southern states as early as 1920 and continue until 1935 when finally an unspoken truce was established between the Federal Government and the Roman Catholic Church. It is estimated that between 1926 and 1934 over 90,000 people were killed (Blancarte, 2009; Mathew Butler, 2009).

Globally, historical explanations to the growth and presence of Protestant groups have been linked to strategies used by some political elites in the reconstruction of new nation-states. For example, Lester's accounts of Protestant missionary activity in the 19th century highlights the mechanism by which missionaries in the field often promoted social changes (Lester, 2006). Policy and social development were among the key arenas influenced by missionary activity all over the world (Woodberry, 2012). Protestant missionaries utilized their extensive social networks to bring attention to social problems. Furthermore, in many instances, missionaries were responsible for providing information that influenced public opinion and facilitated the establishment of policies benefiting indigenous populations.

In the case of Latin America in general, Protestant groups have existed in small numbers for about the last 100 years and have made fundamental contributions to the development and support of education, health care projects, and human rights (Garrard Burnett, 1989). In northern Mexico, Southern and Northern Baptists established the First Baptist Church in Monterrey, Nuevo León, in 1864 and within a few years operated hospitals, schools, seminaries, and printing shops in several states in northern, western, and central Mexico (Reid, 1952). Historical explanations in the United Stated have highlighted the importance of the democratic organizational structure of some Protestant congregations, as well as the characteristics of their clergy in their expansion into "border-like" environments in the southern United States at the end of the 18th and throughout the 19th centuries (Finke & Stark, 1989). However, scholars in Mexico have for the most part ignored the experiences and influence of key players, including women and local ministers, and the creation of religious pluralism.

Finally, to explain the growth of Protestantism in urban areas in Mexico, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, scholars have used Durkheim's idea of anomie as

well as a postmodernist emphasis on the transformation of identities (Bastian, 2003). This approach has shown how the roots of many of the new religious movements found in urban areas – particularly Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal – in Mexico and in Latin America are not solely the result of some type of "transnational domination" but are both a response to local needs and external influences (Bastian, 2003; Sigmund, 1999). This approach also highlights the importance of religious institutions in the creation of spaces where individuals can obtain new identities and develop new networks in rapidly changing societies (see Bastian, 2003; Granovetter, 1983; Anne Motley Hallum, 2003; Lester, 2006; Trejo, 2009; Wuthnow, 2002). However, scholars have not used a similar approach to explain the earlier settlement of Protestant groups in rural areas of southern Mexico that were experiencing economic, cultural, and social changes during the reconstruction of a national identity away from the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and other foreign entities.

Methodological Approaches

From a methodological standpoint, changes in religious affiliation have been approached in the literature from two perspectives. First, qualitative research using a strong anthropological methodology has been conducted in small ethnic communities across Mexico starting in the 1960s (see (Bastian, 1996; Dow, 2005; Gross, 2003; Nutini, 2000; O'Connor, 1979; Tuner, 1979). Second, a few quantitative studies have been conducted on the presence and growth of Protestant and evangelical traditions in Mexico using the data collected by the 1990 and 2000 census (see M. G. Davis, 2009; Dow, 2005; Garma Navarro, 2011). However, the limitations of the data do not allow for any

individual level analysis and the short period of these studies limits the study of long-term trends.

Approaching the creation of niches of Protestantism from a comparative historical perspective facilitates the identification of the circumstances under which religious pluralism took place and the long-term effects that it had on several institutions and organizations in southern Mexico. Although a number of qualitative studies have addressed the growth and presence of Protestant and Evangelical groups in other regions of Mexico, and a few history studies have mapped the development of individual congregations, comparative historical methodology has been conspicuously absent in this research field. In addition, there continues to be a lack of research that examines the interplay of social institutions and structural and cultural factors in the creation of strong and long-lasting religious pluralistic communities that have been operating since the end of the 19th century in southern Mexico.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Firstly, the present study will be buttressed by social network theory and apply social and cultural capital concepts to the religious field developing between 1880 and 1960 in the selected cases. According to social network theory scholars, the ties that individuals build between them influence their access to resources and information and serve to connect the micro and macro levels of social life (Granovetter, 1983; Pescosolido, 2006). Additionally, to understand why some denominations were more successful than others in southern Mexico, this study will apply some rational choice concepts.

Briefly, according to the social networks perspective individuals are able to establish two basic types of relationships within two types of social circles. On the one hand, strong ties are established with close family members and friends in concentric social circles (Blau & Schwartz, 1997; Granovetter, 1983). While strong ties offer resources, information, and emotional support from individuals that share similar characteristics, strong ties also limit the amount and types of resources available to the individuals within close-knit social circles. On the other hand, in crosscutting social circles, individuals establish weak ties with diverse acquaintances with different characteristics and therefore have access to different types of resources and information (Blau & Schwartz, 1997; Granovetter, 1983).

Furthermore, the social networks that individuals construct link the micro and macro levels of social life (Coleman, 1990). Communities that have strong close social ties provide a sense of security and solidarity to its members, but are less tolerant of outsiders, offer less opportunities for diversity, and limit the freedom of individuals (Blau & Schwartz, 1997; Pescosolido, 2006). However, in communities where individuals are increasingly able to participate in different social circles and are able to establish more diverse weak ties, individuals are able to create more tolerant communities in which individuals have greater freedom of choice, even if this means less support and more uncertainty (Pescosolido, 2006).

The above theoretical perspective will aid in understanding why and how community organization in southern Mexico played a crucial role in the creation of niches of Protestantism, particularly when social and cultural networks are disturbed or abolished. It would help understand why and how social networks, the strong or weak ties that individuals are able to establish can influence the development of religious diversity. Although, in this dissertation data at the individual level are scarce, this approach will

also help in understanding the role that key actors had in the development of religious pluralism in southern Mexico.

Secondly, in order to understand why and how some denominations were more successful than others in constructing niches of Protestantism, this research analyzes the organizational structure of the congregation as well as the relationship between the clergy and the laity and the spiritual and practical resources provided by different organizations. Research in the southern United States has found that at the center of congregational success is the ability of the church's leadership to establish a common bond with the membership as well as to provide a message that resonates with the communities they served (Finke & Stark, 1989). In a free religious market, some denominations are more successful in fulfilling the spiritual and practical needs of their members than others (Iannaccone, 1990; Warner, 1993). For example, in the case of the southern United States, denominations such as Baptist and Methodist that had a decentralized clergy and that could leave the congregation in the hands of the adult membership were more successful than denominations that had highly professional clergy (Finke & Stark, 1989).

Similarly, ministers in successful denominations were able to establish strong emotional ties and decrease the social distance with their assembly. Finally, successful denominations were able to easily establish new parishes and provide a message that resonated in a changing social and cultural environment (Finke & Stark, 1989). By following a similar theoretical approach, this dissertation seeks to identify the characteristics of the denominations that were more successful in entering a religious market that until the 1880s had been dominated by the religious monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church,

Finally, this dissertation will proceed from comparative historical approach to explain why and how political, economic, social, and cultural changes in southern

Mexico contributed to the creation of religious pluralism and why Protestant settlement patterns differ from what scholars have observe taking place in Mexico after the 1960s. Using a comparative historical approach, this dissertation analyzes not only the different religious trajectories of the three cases: Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán it also examines the key differences in economic, social, and cultural practices of the three cases as well as the key historical events that contributed to the creation of religious pluralism at different times. This approach will further permit a better understanding of the long-term interplay between social institutions, structural, and cultural factors, the role of key groups and individuals, and the internal organization of religious denominations contributing to the creation of religious pluralism.

Research Questions

One goal of this dissertation is to explore the environmental, social, cultural, economic, and political factors that contributed to the settlement and continuous presence of Protestant missions in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán. Firstly, this dissertation will explore how environmental, social, cultural, and economic aspects of the state of Tabasco contributed to the settlement of Protestant missionaries in the early period of religious pluralism in the 1880s and through 1910. Secondly, it analyzes how changes in community organization and conflict with the Roman Catholic Church increase the religious diversity in Tabasco and Yucatán during the second period of expansion between the 1910 and the 1930s. Thirdly, this dissertation analyzes why during the third period of interest between 1940 and 1960 new denominations entering the Mexican religious field were finally able to establish niches of Protestantism in Campeche and increase the diversity of the field in Tabasco and Yucatán. Using data from historical

accounts, mission records, and the Mexican population censuses, this dissertation seeks to answer three broad questions:

1. To what extent did changes in political, economic, and social spheres in some areas of southern Mexico contribute to the development of niches of religious pluralism?
2. Why did Protestant groups settle first in areas of low-ethnic composition and why did the settlement patterns change
3. How did Protestant groups attain and maintain regional governmental support in southern niches of religious pluralism, while the federal government restricted religious presence and activities?

Selected Cases: Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán

The three case studies, Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán, were selected because although they share many geographic, economic, and social similarities, their religious experiences evolved differently. Over the last hundred and fifty years, Mexico's religious landscape has seen an unprecedented change. The Roman Catholic majority established in colonial times has been experiencing an increasing decline in membership, while Protestant affiliation has been steadily growing both in rural and urban areas particularly after the 1960s. However, small areas in Tabasco began experiencing religious pluralism as early as the 1880s, in the state of Yucatán since the 1910s, and in the 1930s in the state of Campeche. Although small in numbers, the economic, political, and cultural influence of these religious groups can be observed in the region even today.

According to the 1895 census, most Protestant missions were located either in Mexico City or in the states bordering the United States (Estadística, 1895). The Mexican

state with the highest percentage of Protestant affiliation was the northern state of Coahuila (1.5 percent). The sparsely populated state of Baja California occupied second place with 1.16 percent Protestant affiliation. Mexico City occupied third place with 1.06 percent of its population declaring a Protestant affiliation and the state of Nuevo León, bordering the state of Texas in the southern United States, occupied the fourth place with 1.03 percent. Surprisingly, the state of Tabasco in southern Mexico occupied fifth place with 0.99 percentage of its population declaring a Protestant affiliation. The states of Campeche, and Yucatán had very small Protestant presence at the end of the 19th century with 0.08 percent and 0.11 percent respectively (Estadística, 1895).

However, the religious market place of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán experienced dramatic changes in the first half of the 20th century (Table 1.1). According to the 1910 and 1921 Population Censuses, the Protestant presence in Tabasco declined dramatically while it increased drastically in Campeche and Yucatán. The changes observed were influenced by the political, social, and religious turmoil occurring during the Mexican Revolution (Estadística, 1910, 1921, 1930). By the 1930's Population Census, 3.4 percent of the population in the state of Tabasco declared to follow a Protestant tradition, while 2.3 percent of the population in Yucatán and 0.9 percent of the population in Campeche followed a Protestant tradition (Estadística, 1930). The observed trend continued for the next thirty years and starting in 1940 Tabasco was the state with the highest percentage of population declaring a Protestant affiliation (3.4 percent) in Mexico (Estadística, 1940).

Table 1.1. Percentage of Religious Affiliation in Mexico and Selected States, 1895-1960

	National Level		Campeche		Tabasco		Yucatán	
	Roman Catholic [a]	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant
1885	99.1	0.3	99.3	0.1	98.5	1.0	99.6	0.1
1890	99.5	0.4	99.8	0.1	97.6	1.6	99.8	0.1
1910	99.2	0.5	98.2	0.6	99.5	0.2	98.2	0.5
1921	97.1	0.5	93.5	0.9	97.1	0.3	92.2	2.3
1930	97.7	0.8	97.7	0.8	87.1	3.4	96.9	1.0
1940	96.5	0.9	94.5	1.3	88.3	3.3	95.8	1.0
1950	98.2	1.3	97.5	2.2	93.6	5.1	98.1	1.6
1960	96.5	1.7	93.1	3.9	90.1	6.7	96.3	2.4

[a] The numbers between 1921 and 1960 reflect total population.

Sources:
Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI
Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI
Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. DGE
Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. DGE
Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de November de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI
Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de November de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI
Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. DGE
Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI
Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI
Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI
Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. INEGI
Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. INEGI
VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos. INEGI

Similarly, Protestant affiliation continued to increase in Yucatán and Campeche. In Yucatán the population declaring a Protestant affiliation reached one percent in 1940, while in Campeche there were eight Protestants per every 100 people over the age of five-years old (Estadística, 1940). These numbers placed all three cases in the top fifteen states with the highest Protestant affiliation in Mexico (Estadística, 1940). The numbers continued to increase and by 1960 Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatán were among the top ten states in Mexico with the highest percent of population following a Protestant

tradition. Tabasco was number one with 6.7 percent, Campeche was number three with 3.9 percent, and Yucatán was number nine with 2.4 percent Protestant affiliation (Estadística, 1960). The patterns of religious plurality identified in southern Mexico will offer an opportunity to understand the mechanism by which religious pluralism develops and sustains itself as well as identify the three key periods of religious change in the region.

Table 1.2. Percentage of Religious Affiliation in Mexico and Selected States, 1970-2010

	National Level		Campeche		Tabasco		Yucatán	
	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant
1970	96.2	1.8	90.9	5.5	87.2	8.3	95.3	2.8
1980	92.3	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
1990	89.7	4.9	76.3	13.5	72.2	15.2	85.8	9.3
2000	88.7	8.1	71.3	17.9	70.4	18.6	84.3	11.4
2010	83.9	9.9	64.1	21.1	65.6	24.3	80.2	14.0

Note: For 1970 and 1980, the numbers reflect total population, from 1990. 2000, and 2010 numbers reflect population 5-years and older. For 1990, 2000, and 2010 the Protestant category includes Protestants (Historical), Evangelical (Pentecostal, NeoPentecostal, Luz del Mundo and others), and Biblical non-Evangelicals (Seventh Day Adventist, Latter Day Saints, and Jehovah Witnesses)
Note: Official numbers at the state level are missing from the 1980 Census due to the earthquake in Mexico City in 1985 that destroyed most of the electronic records. Paper records can be found in several archives in Mexico, however since that period is beyond the scope of this dissertation no effort was made to compile them.

Sources:
IX Censo General de Población 1970. Tabulados básicos. DGE
Censo de Población y Vivienda 1980. Tabulados básicos. INEGI
Censo de Población y Vivienda 1990. Tabulados básicos. INEGI
Censo de Población y Vivienda 2000. Tabulados básicos. INEGI
Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010. Tabulados básicos. INEGI

Patterns of religious pluralism changed in post 1970s Mexico as shown in table 1.2 above. These patterns followed different models of conversion, with the focus being

the physical healing and the personal transformation of the most disadvantage members of the community and the wellbeing of familial organizations. These new types of conversion were also in the hands of different religious organizations and traditions, particularly of Pentecostal and Neo Pentecostal of Latin American origin, while earlier conversion were in the hands of Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Assemblies of God, and Episcopalians (Garrard Burnett, 1989; Sinclair, 1999).

Periodization

Census data presented in table 1.1 and accounts from missionaries in the field allow us to identify three key periods of interest. The first period comprised the years of early Protestant missionary work in Tabasco and in Yucatán starting in 1880 and ending with the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The second period comprised the period of armed conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the federal government in the 1920s and 1930s. The final period comprised a time of religious revival observed in southern Mexico and linked to the social and economic changes taking place during the 1940s and through the 1960s as a response to the social and economic changes brought up by the Education and Land Reforms.

Quantitative and Qualitative Data

The Instituto de Estadística, Geografía, e Informática (INEGI) has made available a large amount of statistical, geographic, and cartographic information about Mexico's environment and population. The variables of interest were constructed using the National and State Population Censuses from 1895, 1910, 1921, 1930, 1940, 1950, and

1960, as well as data compiled during the Porfiriato (1877-1910)[2], and Protestant missionaries' annual reports. Appendix 1.1 lists the variables of interest as well as their source. Environmental variables such as geographic location, climate, altitude, latitude, rivers, ports, and other forms of transportation were compiled using the national and state censuses as well as accounts from merchant marines from the United States and European countries exploring the region at the end of the 19th century. The merchant marine accounts were an interesting source of information since merchant marines were among the first to bring Bibles to foreign ports and provided support to missionaries in the field.

Demographic variables, including educational and health outcomes were compiled using national and state censuses, statistics compiled during the Porfiriato, and consular and missionary accounts. A review of Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries' accounts provided a better understanding of the role that Protestant missionaries played in the educational and health outcomes in the communities they served. Missionary accounts in addition provided a better understanding of the role that key actors, such as women and local pastors, had in the creation of niches of Protestantism.

Variables used to analyze the strength and weakness of the Roman Catholic Church were compiled using data from the national and states censuses, from statistics compiled during the Porfiriato, from the annual reports of Protestant missionaries in the

[2] The *Porfiriato* refers to the period in Mexican history ruled by the dictator Porfirio Diaz between 1877 and 1910. This period was marked at the beginning by internal political and military stability. During Diaz's dictatorship the Roman Catholic Church as well as the military were able to regain some of the power and prestige lost during the tenure of President Benito Juarez. Furthermore, it was during the Porfiriato that Mexico began to experience modernization and economic development given the support Diaz provided to foreign investment and to the development of infrastructure. However, social development suffered considerably during this period since very little resources were allocated to social programs. Several policies also resulted in the expansion of *haciendas* and the *peonaje* by taking land from indigenous communities. All of the above resulted in widespread poverty and popular discontent. The political stagnation, economic downturn, and the lack of available land finally put an end of the Porfiriato in 1910 (Florescano, Toscano, Cisneros, Aguirre, & Teran., 1988)

field, and from lawsuits and appeals filled between 1914 and 1938. Finally, the presence and strength of Protestants were measured using data compiled by the Project on Religion and Economic Change (PREC) (Woodberry, Ochoa, Porter, & Lu, 2010). The data include among other variables associated with economic change, the number of priests, and the presence of missionaries in the region of interest. In addition, Protestant missionary yearbooks and personal accounts of their efforts in Mexico since 1880 were analyzed in order to identify the structural and cultural variables that increased the likelihood of religious diversity developing overtime, as well as the characteristics of the Protestant denominations that succeed or failed in their expansion efforts.

THE PROTESTANT LANDSCAPE

Early Settlement Period: 1880-1910

Protestant missionaries first arrived in Mexico during the war with the United States in the 1840s, however, many returned to the United States shortly after the conflict ended. In 1859, Rev. B. P. Thompson was appointed agent to distribute Scriptures among the Spanish-speaking people along the Rio Grande region in the state of Texas, along with Ms. Melinda Ranking; however, the violence in northern Mexico slowed their efforts (Dwight, 1916). Between the 1860s and the 1880s, seven different Protestant denominations had opened missions and schools in the states bordering the southwestern United States. In 1871, the Society of Friends established a mission in the city of Matamoros, in the state of Tamaulipas, aided by the American Bible Society (Dwight, 1916). By 1910, Southern Baptists had missions in the cities of Hermosillo, Chihuahua, Torreón, Saltillo, Durango, Zacatecas, León, Guadalajara, Morelia, and Toluca (*Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, 1910). However, several missions were closed after foreign

missionaries returned to the United States during the Mexican Revolution. While the northern Protestant field was in the hands of Baptists and Presbyterians, the central and southern states of Mexico were in the hands of Methodists and Presbyterians.

Presbyterians in Southern Mexico

In 1884 Rev. Greene and Rev. Wilson, both ordained missionaries with the Presbyterian Church of the United States visited the Presbyterian missions in Michoacán, Guerrero, and Tabasco. Rev. Greene and Rev. Wilson reported that the missions had been in the hands of native preachers for at least four years and that although were in need of a better organization and registration system, the missions had 376 members (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1884). The ministers reported that of the nineteen stations, ten had been organized into churches, seven of which were in the state of Guerrero, two in the town of Zitácuaro in the state of Michoacán, and one in the state of Tabasco (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1884. 20).

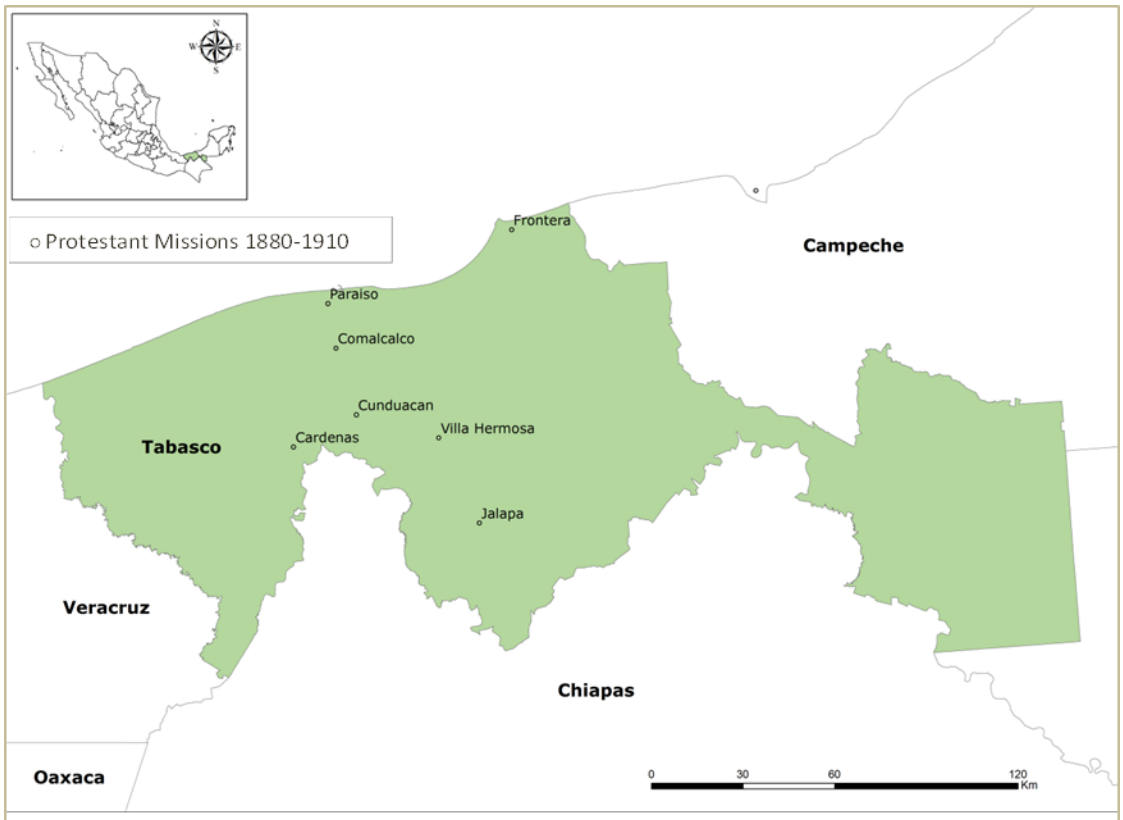
Protestant congregations grew rapidly in Tabasco, by 1887 there was one full-time ordained missionary assigned to Tabasco, Rev. C.C. Millar, even though the missions had been in the hands of local pastors since 1880 (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147). Three years later in 1887, Rev. Greene was asked once again to visit the missions in the state of Tabasco. He found a series of improvements, particularly regarding the opposition from Roman Catholics in the region leading to a declined in the violence that some of the missions experience in previous years "including an attempt to burn four cabinet organs" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. 28).

Rev. Greene reported that the violence had been addressed by the government and that "religious liberty [had been] thoroughly secured" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. 29).

By 1895, five Presbyterian missions were established in the state of Tabasco. The first Presbyterian mission station was at the port of Frontera, where the Grijalva River enters the Gulf of Mexico (Fig. 1.1). The mission had a small church and twenty-nine members, three of which were reportedly added in 1894 (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147). The second, a "small Presbyterian church with forty-five members," was located up the Grijalva river at the capital city of San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147).

The third and largest Presbyterian congregation was in the small town of Paraíso on the *Río Seco* near the Gulf coast, where "all people seem well disposed towards Protestant missionaries" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147). In 1895, the congregation, about 100 in full communion, "has shown its interest by having finished a large, roomy church building, costing $2,000 [Mexican Pesos] and the Mission [in the United States] has only given $200 for the purchase of the seats" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147). The forth Presbyterian mission was ten miles south in the town of Comalcalco, "where the congregation erected a church a few years ago, raising $700, or one-half of the total expense" on their own (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147). The last Presbyterian station in Tabasco was in the small town of Arroyo Hondo, near the town of Cárdenas about thirty miles west of the capital on the Mezcalapa River. The small church had twenty-five members in full communion, however, after one family left the area the membership

declined to sixteen (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147).



Map by Ryan Schuermann

Figure 1.1. Protestant Missions in Tabasco 1880-1910

Two years later, Rev. Millar visited the missions in Tabasco, which continued to grow in numbers and in influence. Rev. Millar reported that church at Paraíso continue to be the largest congregation in Tabasco under the leadership of Rev. M. Z. Garza, with about ninety-one members (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1897). In addition, the congregation had opened a

school that was being managed by a graduate of the Presbyterian Normal School for Women and Girls in Mexico City, who contributed to a "good share of its support" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1897. 149). Rev. Millar also visited the small congregation in Arroyo Hondo (near Cárdenas). He found that the small congregation wanted to grow and requested a permanent minister. Rev. Millar also reported that members who were not able to read and write during his previous visit were now able to do so (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1897. 149). In the case of Tabasco, Protestant missionaries were able to open congregations and to satisfy the spiritual and more practical needs of their assembly as early as the 1880s. An analysis of the unique environmental features, of the distinctive sociodemographic characteristics, and of the economic trajectory of the state will provide a better understanding of the mechanism behind the Protestant success in Tabasco.

In the case of Yucatán, Rev. Franco, a graduate from the Presbyterian Seminary in Tlalpan[3] was first assigned to work in the capital Mérida in 1886. However, religious pluralism did not occur until the economic, social, and cultural changes of the 1910s and 1920s eroded the strength of the Roman Catholic Church. Ten years after Rev. Franco began work in Yucatán, there was only a small congregation of about forty-three people meeting regularly in the capital city of Mérida and no formal church had been organized despite the encouragement of Rev. Maxwell Phillips and Rev. Millar (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 147). Finally, attempts

[3] In 1881, the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America establishes a seminary in the city of Saltillo in the northern state of Coahuila. In 1884, the Presbyterian Seminary in Mexico City was combined with the Seminary in Saltillo and both moved to the town of Tlalpan, a small town just south of Mexico City. In 1885, the seminaries were moved to the city of San Luis Potosí, in the state of the same name. Finally, in 1887 the Presbyterian Seminary returned to the town of Tlalpan under the direction of Rev. Henry C. Thompson and Rev. Hubert W. Brown with 17 students attending and a library of approximately 300 volumes (Office, 1889)

by Protestant missionaries to enter the field in Campeche were meet with violence and no Protestant missions were established during the early settlement period.

The Years of Religious Turmoil: 1910-1930

During the 1910s and 1920s, many foreign-born missionaries were forced to return to the United States due to the increased violence brought about first by the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and then during the *Cristero* Rebellion (1926-1929). In 1916, the American Bible Society reported that several of its "colporteurs fell in the hands of bandits, who stole their mules and their books. They were shot at, they were tumbled down precipices and left for dead" and in one occasion a priest was as quoted as saying "He who kills a Protestant will not have to go through purgatory" (Dwight, 1916. 471). Regardless of the violence, Protestantism continued to grow in southern Mexico.

Although for the most part the violence during the *Cristero* Rebellion was between Roman Catholics (*Cristeros*) and the Federal army, and although the anticlerical movement was not anti-religious, the violence reached foreign-born ministers and their efforts. Protestants developed strategies to circumvent the violence and resistance found in some southern communities during this period. In Mérida, the Presbyterian congregation held services in private homes beside the regular services at the church increasing the opportunity for people to be in contact with the local preacher (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920). The strategy of holding services in private helped Presbyterians to comply with the 1917 Constitution article that limited religious worship only to the designated places and to avoid conflict with the increasingly secular state government.

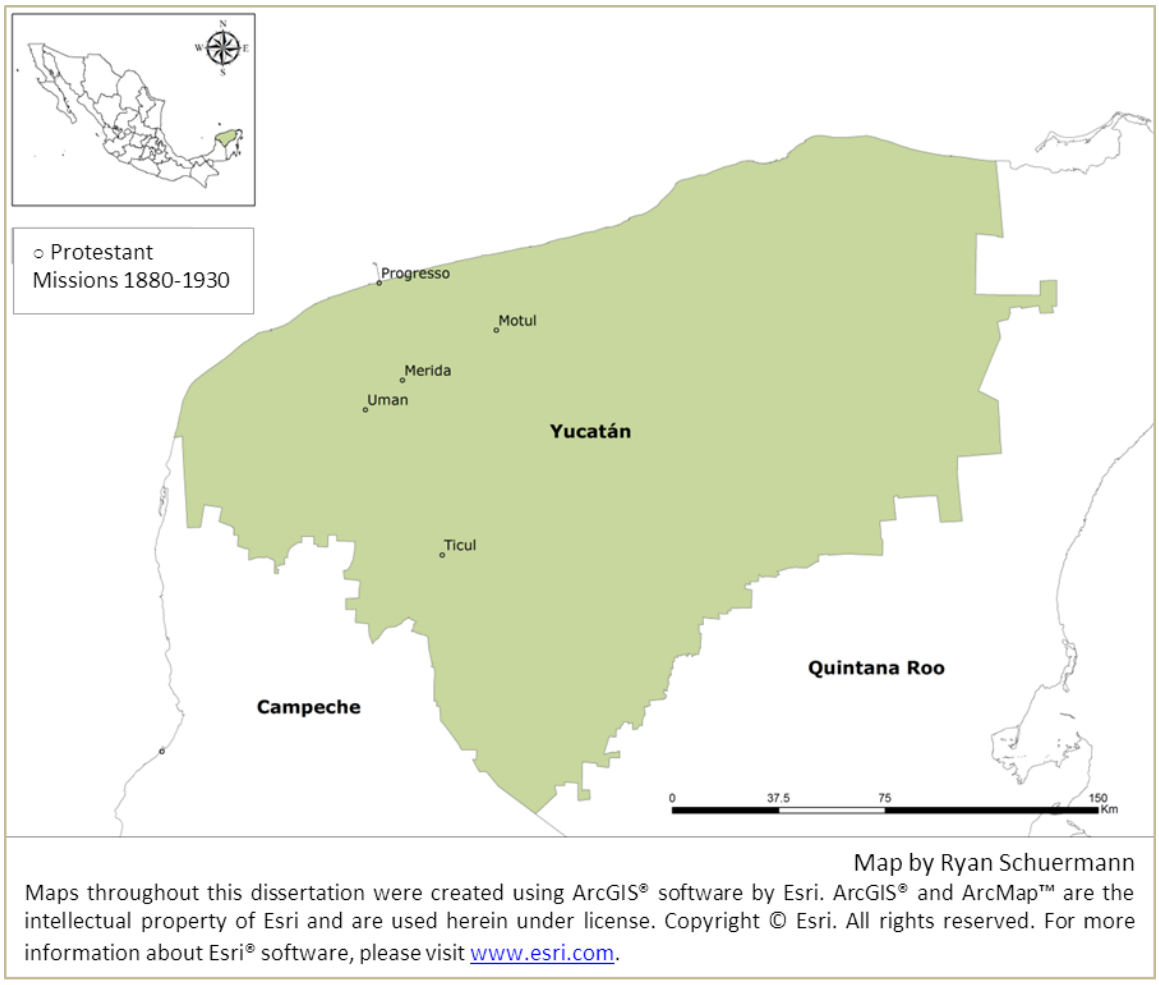


Figure 1.2. Protestant Missions in Yucatan 1880-1930

Additionally, the economic crisis in Yucatán following the collapse of the henequen [4] industry disrupted many of the Protestant missionary efforts in the Peninsula (fig. 1.2 above). Unexpectedly, local pastors were able to establish stronger ties with the communities they were serving according to a report from the native pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Ticul, Yucatán:

[4] Henequen (*agave fourcroydes lem*) is an agave plant native of the Yucatán peninsula. The fibers of the agave are use in the production of binder twine and textiles.

> "Through the grace of God the church has remained firm in the faith though many are not seen at the services; however, we know that a financial crisis takes the men from their homes and from the city. Seven members were received into the church and eight children were baptized. I visited *Muna* several times, and once I made the trip to *Tekit*, where there is no established work not is there even one evangelical family in the place. I and a colporteur sold many Bibles there" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1914. 318)

The efforts of Presbyterian missionaries in Yucatán continued and by 1920, the Presbyterian Church of the United States had opened a successful elementary school in the city of Mérida. To comply with the secular requirements of education and to avoid conflict with the state the congregation reportedly did not "celebrate public religious services in this 'Institutional Center'" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 298). However, the congregation had a designated room for "private prayer [or to share] with those whom we feel will appreciate such devotion" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 298).

In the same year, a new church was built in the port of Progreso, a "hard place with great need" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921. 319). Additionally, the Presbyterian congregation in the town of Ticul, forty miles south of Mérida was growing and a new church building was being constructed with "materials and work [provided] by the congregation" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921. 320). Under the guidance of their Mayan pastor, who "expressed the desire to stimulate his people to study and think" a night school using books provided by the Latin American Development Fund was open in Ticul the same year (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921. 320).

Furthermore, it was during this period that other Protestant groups began working in southern Mexico and that the Protestant religious field was officially divided among the different denominations working in Mexico. At the end of the 19th century, Protestant boards in the United States began to recognize the need for an organized approach to the conversion efforts in Mexico. The Presbyterian Board in the United States also recognized the need to establish a system by which local pastors and helpers received payment, since other Protestant groups were beginning to take away some of their most successful workers (*Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1894). In 1920, Mr. Cortez reported that the Presbyterian work in the city of Orizaba in the state of Veracruz had been transferred to Methodists. He further recognized that during the period of transition the work of teachers in the Presbyterian elementary school had been mostly responsible for keeping the Protestant families together (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 294).

In 1914, various United States Protestant denominations held a conference in Cincinnati, Ohio to develop a plan to divide their work in Mexico. At the Cincinnati Conference it was agreed that the Presbyterian (North) Church would be responsible for the evangelization in southern Mexico (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920). In 1919, the first Conference on Christian work took place in Mexico City in order to complete the Cincinnati Plan and to structure the work of Protestant denominations in Mexico. In accordance to the conference, the Methodist Episcopal Church withdrew from the state of Oaxaca. The Presbyterian Mission accepted the responsibility of working there along with southern parts of the state of Veracruz and in "all of the states of Tabasco, Campeche, Chiapas, Yucatán, and

the territory of Quintana Roo" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 53).

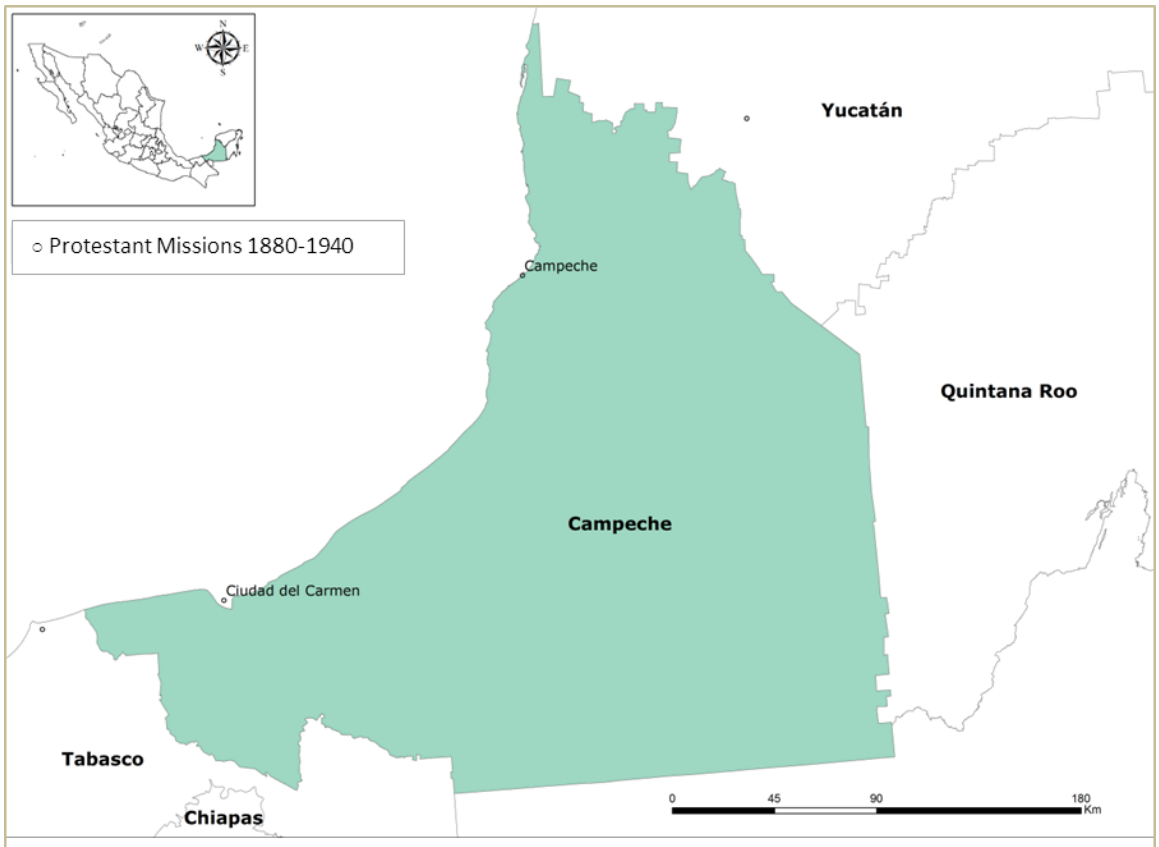


Figure 1.3. Protestant Missions in Campeche 1880-1940

The religious field in Campeche was for the most part in the hands of two foreign-born missionaries with little support from the foreign boards (fig. 1.3 above). The lack of support from the foreign boards combined with the lack of native ministers, further limit the growth of niches of Protestantism. The small congregation had been established in the city of Campeche in 1920 the lack of local pastors left the congregation in the hands of a

layman who was only able to add a few new members in the previous year (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921). The congregation at Isla del Carmen, formerly in the hands of Mr. Phillips, was in 1920, in the hands of a young licentiate who was building a church even though "he had not received much help from the Presbyterian Board and just a little help from the Latin American Development Fund" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921. 319).

Protestant congregations in Tabasco continued to grow during the period of conflict between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. In the capital of Villahermosa (San Juan Bautista), religious services had been held at the home of Sr. Granados, but the congregation finally collected enough money to build a proper church along with the medical dispensary already in place in 1921. As a service to the growing congregation,

> "[t]he owner of a fruit company having several large boats carrying bananas between Tabasco and Galveston, [Texas] very kindly offered to this congregation to bring any building material for the chapel and manse from the United States, free of freight" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1922. 351).

The congregation at Paraíso under Rev. José Coffín a native of Tabasco since 1907 continued to grow in number and in influence when in 1921, Rev. Coffin was elected mayor of the town of Paraíso (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1922). The congregation in Comalcalco also grew. In 1922, it was reported that over 150 people were attending services and was also conducting regular religious servicing at the nearby communities of Santa Ana, Arroyo Hondo, and Los Potreros (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1922. 351). Finally in the port of Frontera, the

congregation was making arrangements to acquire a new site for a larger church in the same year (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1922).

The 1920s also brought new Protestant denominations to southern Mexico. Seventh-day Adventists organized the Mexican conference in November of 1920 and divided the territory into six districts: northeastern, north central, northwestern, central, southern, and Yucatán (Denomination, 1920). In 1924, the southern district became the Tehuantepec mission comprising the states of Tabasco, Oaxaca, Chiapas, and the southernmost part of Veracruz, however, it was managed from the central offices in Mexico City until 1928 when a new office was opened in the port of Veracruz, Veracruz (Denomination, 1925). The Yucatán Mission comprised the states of Campeche, Yucatán, and the territory of Quintana Roo with the central office in the city of Mérida, Yucatán opening in 1926 (Denomination, 1926).

Seventh-day Adventist's congregations began to grow steadily in the 1930s and the territories were reorganized to accommodate the growth. In 1931, the state of Tabasco became part of the Yucatán Mission with the headquarters in the city of Mérida and under the care of Rev. D.L. Dinus. By 1933, there were four Seventh-day Adventist churches in the territory with 184 members. In 1934, the southern Seventh-day Adventists missions were reorganized once again the Yucatán missions were merged with the Tehuantepec district and the headquarters were established in the city of Puebla. By the end of the 1930s there were forty-eight churches with 1,874 members under the direction of four local ministers and one foreign-born minister (Denomination, 1934, 1939).

During the second period of interest, religious diversity continued to grow in the state of Tabasco. Presbyterian congregations began addressing some of the more practical

needs of the communities they served by opening education and health facilities. New denominations also began entering the religious field in both Tabasco and Yucatán and local ministers became leading the spiritual work particularly among the indigenous communities in Yucatán. Finally, it was during this period that small congregations began to grow, albeit slowly, in the most urban centers in the state of Campeche.

The Religious Revival: 1940-1960

By the late 1930s, the tensions between the State and the Roman Catholic Church had ended in an unspoken compromise as communities and individuals began reclaiming and restoring their Roman Catholic identity. The majority of the rural communities had been reorganized into the *ejido*[5] system after the redistribution of land completely destabilized the *hacienda*[6] and *finca*[7] systems and the *Ley de Patrimonio Ejidal* (1925) ensured the intergenerational use of land as long as the land was being cultivated (Matthew Butler, 2009). Patriotic symbols born during the Mexican Revolution, the *Cristero* Rebellion, and the Land Reform combined to create a new national identity. By combining and assimilating some Roman Catholic religious, such as the *Virgen de Guadalupe* in Tabasco and Campeche and the *Virgen de Izamal* in Yucatán, with new

[5] *Ejidos* are communal lands mostly dedicated to subsistent agriculture and small production for local markets given to landless members of communities surrounding the *haciendas* as those broke down following the Mexican Revolution and the Land Reform starting in the 1920s.

[6] *Haciendas* in Campeche and Yucatán were large landholdings in the hands of individual owners and dedicated to the commercial production of henequen, cattle, and sugar. The labor force in the *haciendas* included *peones, jornaleros,* and *luneros* who lacked access to their own land and worked for the *hacienda* as day, weak, or seasonal labor, received wages in kind, and were tied to the *hacienda* by a strong economic, social, and cultural dependence.

[7] *Fincas* in Tabasco were large and medium size landholdings dedicated to the commercial production of tropical fruits on the Gulf of Mexico and to the production of tropical woods in the forested areas along the borders with Guatemala and Chiapas. Tabasco's legislature not only limited the size of the *fincas* in 1909 but also took measures to ensure that there was not a strong economic, social, and cultural dependence between the workers and the *fincas*.

patriotic heroes, individuals were for the first time able to separate their religious and political identities. It was not only the Roman Catholic Church who experienced a revival during this period, but Protestantism continued to grow, mostly in the hands of local pastors who were able to embrace their Protestant and Mexican identities. In 1938, the president of Teapa (a municipality in the central part of Tabasco) Sr. José Perez Bastar, complained that "the '*sabatismo*' had increased considerably due to the presence of two visiting minister from the state of Puebla, [who] not only proselytized but also collected tithes" (Bowen, 1996. 220).

In 1940, the percentage of people in Tabasco following a Protestant religion was 3.26 (table 1.3), which made Tabasco the state with the largest percentage of its population to follow a religion different from Roman Catholicism while the national average was less than one percent (0.91) (Estadística, 1940). The state of Campeche was ranked number eight at the national level with 1.3 percent of its population following a Protestant tradition, while the state of Yucatán was ranked number twelve with one percent if its population following a Protestant religion (Estadística, 1940).

Although data regarding the percentage of religiously unaffiliated are not available for all years and all cases, in 1940 all three selected cases had a high percentage of unaffiliated compared with the rest of the country. Tabasco occupied the second place with 8.08 percent of its population declaring not having a religious tradition. Campeche occupied the fifth place with 4.10 percent and Yucatán the tenth place with 2.97 percent of its population without a religious affiliation. Interestingly the state with the highest percent of unaffiliated was the third state in the Yucatán Peninsula, the state of Quintana Roo. Since other research has shown as strong a positive correlation between the percentage of religious unaffiliated individuals and religious diversity (M. G. Davis, 2009) further research is needed.

Table 1.3. Protestant Affiliation by State in 1940

Ranked	States	Total Population	Protestant		Other Religion	
			Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
1	Tabasco	285 630	9 323	3.26	673	0.24
8	Campeche	90 460	1 175	1.30	110	0.12
12	Yucatán	418 210	4 218	1.01	358	0.09
	Mexico	18 977 585	177 954	0.91	33 094	0.17
			Non Affiliation		Religion Unknown	
			Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
2	Tabasco		23 076	8.08	0	0.00
5	Campeche		3 712	4.10	0	0.00
10	Yucatán		12 432	2.97	345	0.08
	Mexico		443 671	2.26	4 417	0.02

Source:
Sexto Censo de Población y Vivienda 1940. Tabulados Básicos. DGE.

In 1950, the percentage of population who identified with a Protestant tradition increased in all three cases. Table 1.4 shows that state of Tabasco continued to be the state with the largest percentage, 5.13 percent of its population followed a Protestant religion, while the national level was still only 1.28 percent (Estadística, 1950). The percentage of population in Campeche had increased to 2.17 while the percentage of Protestants in Yucatán had increase to 1.55 (Estadística, 1950).

Table 1.4. Protestant Affiliation by State in 1950

Rank	State	Total Population	Protestant		Other Religion	
			Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
1	Tabasco	362 716	18 607	5.13	4 707	1.30
6	Campeche	122 098	2 645	2.17	226	0.19
13	Yucatán	516 899	8 012	1.55	1 907	0.37
	Mexico	25 791 017	330 111	1.28	NA	NA

Source:
Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados Básicos. DGE

Table 1.5 shows the percentage of the population following a Protestant tradition in 1960. In the state of Tabasco, 6.69 percent of the population a total of 33,228 people reported to follow one of the seven Protestant traditions present in the state at the time compared with only 1.66 percent on average in the country (Estadística, 1960; Taylor & Coggins, 1961). The state of Campeche, in 1960, occupied the fourth place with 3.89 percent of its population following one of the four Protestant denominations while in the state of Yucatán 2.43 percent of the population declaring to follow one of the four denominations present in the state (Estadística, 1960; Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Table 1.5. Protestant Affiliation by State in 1960

Ranked	State	Total Population	Protestant		Other Religion	
			Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
1	Tabasco	496 340	33 228	6.69	4 764	0.96
4	Campeche	168 219	6 546	3.89	876	0.52
8	Yucatán	614 049	14 903	2.43	1 689	0.28
	Mexico	34 923 129	578 515	1.66	137 208	0.39
			No Affiliation		Religion Unknown	
			Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
1	Tabasco		7 164	1.44	550	0.11
4	Campeche		1 565	0.93	2 257	1.34
8	Yucatán		3 001	0.49	2 386	0.39
	Mexico		192 963	0.55	221 190	0.63

Source:
VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados Básicos. DEG.

By the 1960s, several Protestant denominations were present in the three southern states, and religious pluralism had been consolidated in all three selected cases. Starting in the mid-1940s, two Protestant organizations closely associated with the Pentecostal tradition were working in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán. The Assemblies of God established churches in the capital of Yucatán in 1943, in the capital of Campeche in

1945, in the capital of Tabasco in 1954 and one year later the *Templo Filadelphia* was started in the town of Cárdenas thirty miles east of Villahermosa. The Assemblies of God continued to grow and by 1960 were present in eight communities in the State of Campeche[8], in two communities in the state of Tabasco[9], and in twenty-one in the state of Yucatán[10] (Taylor & Coggins, 1961). The Church of God had also formed congregations in eight communities in the state of Campeche in 1961, in forty-nice communities in the state of Tabasco, while their present was much smaller in the state of Yucatán the Church of God served four communities (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Seventh-day Adventists were another Protestant denomination growing in southern Mexico, particularly after their internal reorganization in 1943. The Seventh-day Adventist Yucatán mission included the states of Campeche, Tabasco, Yucatán, and Quintana Roo. After the reorganization, its headquarters were moved to the city of Mérida and the mission grew to twelve churches and a reported 1,030 members, one foreign and one local ministers (Denomination, 1944). The last year a foreign-born missionary was in charge of the Yucatán missions was in 1944. Beginning in 1945, all ordained ministers, licensed ministers, and missionaries were Mexican. Contrary to the earlier experience of Baptists, Methodists, and particularly Presbyterians, there were no women registered as licensed missionaries or active workers until 1947 when Rosa Ma. Dios y Betty Moreno were added to the directory (Denomination, 1947). In 1948, the Yucatán mission was reorganized and the Southeast Mexican Mission was created with

[8] Appendix 1.2 provides a list of the Protestant Denominations present in the communities in the state of Campeche in 1961

[9] Appendix 1.3 provides a list of the Protestant Denominations present in the communities in the State of Tabasco in 1961.

[10] Appendix 1.4 provides a list of the Protestant Denominations present in the communities in the state of Yucatán in 1961.

thirty-eight churches and 1,681 members. Its headquarters moved to the city of Villahermosa in the state of Tabasco (Denomination, 1949).

In addition to fulfilling the spiritual needs of the people in Tabasco, Seventh-day Adventists established one agricultural and industrial school in the town of Teapa, about thirty miles south of the city of Villahermosa, Tabasco in the 1940s. In the 1950s, two clinics, one in the town of Teapa (about thirty miles south of Villahermosa) and one in the town of Tacotalpa (about ten miles west of Teapa) under the care of the Seventh-day Adventists in Tabasco (Johanson, 1955). By 1960, there were forty-one churches with 5,490 members reported under the leadership of seven ordained ministers and fifteen licensed missionaries all of Mexican origin (Kleser, 1960).

The Assemblies of God had the smaller presence in the state of Campeche as shown in table 1.6. There were five churches with a Sunday school each and ninety-one full members with a total community of 197 people. Seventh-day Adventists reported twenty churches, seven Sunday schools, and one radio program serving a 140 church members and a Protestant community of 254. The Church of God (Foreign Missions) reported 336 church members and community of 750 with six churches and three unorganized groups meeting regularly. Not surprisingly, the United Presbyterian Church in the United States had the largest membership with a total of 1,114 full church members and serving a community of 1,406 people in twenty churches and forty-two Sunday schools. In addition to the organized churches in Campeche, there were twenty-three unorganized groups meeting regularly under the leadership of five ordained national workers and three foreign workers. Finally, the United Presbyterian Church of the United States also had one Bible Institute, one bookstore, and one clinic in Campeche (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Table 1.6. Protestant Missionary Work by Denomination in the State of Campeche in 1961

Work	Denomination				Total
	Assemblies of God	Church of God Foreign Missions	Seventh Day Adventists	United Presbyterian Church in the United States	
Church Members	91	336	140	1 114	1 681
Protestant Community	197	750	254	1 406	2 607
Churches	5	3	6	20	34
Unorganized Groups [a]	-	3	-	23	26
Sunday Schools	5	3	7	42	57
Foreign Workers	-	-	-	3	3
Ordained National Workers	-	-	-	5	5
Other National Workers (full time)	-	5	-	15	20
Bible Institutes	-	-	-	1	1
Bookstores	-	-	-	1	1
Radio Programs [b]	-	-	1	-	1
Clinics	-	-	-	1	1

[a] Meeting Regularly
[b] Transmitted on Commercial Stations

Source:
Taylor & Coggins, 1961

The religious field in Tabasco was more diverse than in the state of Campeche. Table 1.7 shows the Protestant groups present in the state in 1960 as well as their most important activities. In 1960, the Assemblies of God were the smallest group in the area with only three churches and two Sunday schools serving eighty-three full members and a community of 111 people. The Church of God was much larger in Tabasco than it was in Campeche, with fifty-two churches, nine unorganized groups meeting regularly and twenty-nine Sunday schools, serving 1,951 full members and 3,349 others registered as part of their community. The Church of God also had the largest number of national

workers (sixty-one) and one radio program reported in 1960. In 1960, Seventh-day Adventists had thirty-two churches, fifty-nine unorganized groups meeting regularly, and ninety-eight Sunday schools serving 2,865 full members and a community of 4,630 people. Seventh-day Adventists were also in charge of six primary schools and one radio program (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Table 1.7. Protestant Missionary Work by Denomination in the State of Tabasco in 1961

Work	Assemblies of God	Church of God Foreign Missions	Seventh Day Adventists	United Andean Indian Mission	United Presbyterian Church in the United States	Total
Church Members	83	1 951	2 865	-	3 599	8 498
Protestant Community	111	3 349	4 630	-	7 328	15 418
Churches	3	52	32	-	17	104
Unorganized Groups [a]	-	9	59	-	110	178
Sunday Schools	2	29	98	-	119	248
Foreign Workers	-	-		-	-	7
Ordained National Workers	-	-		-	10	10
Other National Workers	-	61		-	15	76
Primary Schools	-	-	6	-	-	6
Bible Institutes	-	-		2	2	4
Radio Programs [b]	-	-	1	-	-	1
Clinics	-	-		1	1	2

Note: In 1961, there was one foreign-born worker from the Missionary Aviation Fellowship working in Tabasco as six from Wycliffe Bible Translators.
[a] Meeting Regularly
[b] Transmitted on Commercial Stations

Source:
Taylor & Coggins, 1961

The United Presbyterian Church in the United States had, once again, the largest Protestant denomination in Tabasco with 3,599 full church members and a community of

7,328 people (Taylor & Coggins, 1961). The Presbyterian Church had seventeen churches and over one hundred unorganized groups meeting regularly, 119 Sunday schools, two Bible institutes, and one clinic under the leadership of ten ordained national workers and fifteen full-time Mexican workers (Taylor & Coggins, 1961). Finally, in the state of Tabasco there were six foreign-born workers belonging to the Wycliffe Bible Translators organization in the United States and one from the Missionary Aviation Fellowship, while the United Andean Indian Mission was in charge of one clinic (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

In the state of Yucatán, the Church of God had the smallest presence compared to Campeche and Tabasco with only 125 full members and a community of 245 people and four churches and two Sunday schools as shown in table 1.8. The Assemblies of God, which, was established in Mérida in 1943 and in Progreso in 1946, had grown to include eleven churches, eight unorganized groups meeting regularly, eight Sunday schools and one Bible institute with 347 full church members, 874 Protestant community and one reported foreign-born worker. In the state of Yucatán, Seventh-day Adventists have been growing steadily since the 1920s and by 1960, there were 646 full members and 1,126 community members attending four churches and twenty-two unorganized groups meeting regularly under the leadership of four Mexican workers. The United Presbyterian Church in the United States had the largest presence in Yucatán just as it did in Tabasco. In 1960, there were a total of sixty-six churches and forty-two Sunday schools, one primary school, one secondary school, and one college, as well as one Bible institute, one seminary, and one hospital (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Table 1.8. Protestant Missionary Work by Denomination in the State of Yucatán in 1961

Work	Assemblies of God	Church of God Foreign Missions	Seven Day Adventist	United Presbyterian Church in the United States	Total
Church Members	347	125	646	1 114	2 232
Protestant Community	874	245	1 126	1 406	3 651
Churches	11	4	4	66	85
Unorganized Groups [a]	8	-	22	-	30
Sunday Schools	19	2	39	42	102
Foreign Workers	1	-	-	3	4
Ordained National Workers	-	-	-	5	5
Other National Workers (full time)	-	4	-	15	19
Primary Schools	-	-	-	1	1
Secondary Schools	-	-	-	1	1
Colleges	-	-	-	1	1
Bible Institutes	1	-	-	1	2
Seminaries	-	-	-	1	1
Hospitals	-	-	-	1	1

[a] Meeting Regularly

Source:
Taylor & Coggins, 1961

At the end of the third period of study, the Roman Catholic Church continued to be the dominant religious tradition. However, Protestant denominations had steadily grown in numbers and in influence as Seventh-day Adventists and Pentecostal traditions joined the Presbyterians, Methodist, and Baptists that had been dominated the southern religious field since the 1880s. Local ministers were in charge of their own congregations and had established strong ties with the local and state governments. By the 1960s, Protestant congregations were not only satisfying the spiritual needs of their members,

but also influencing the health and educational outcomes of the communities they occupied.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter two explores selected environmental opportunities such as accessibility from other areas of the country and abroad and available river and land transportation, as well as environmental limitations such as poor health conditions that influenced the arrival and successful settlement of Protestant missionaries and the economic and social development of the region. Mexico was not a target for large number of Protestant missionaries until the middle of the 19th century. Protestant efforts were limited by the early, continued, and strong presence of the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, with the exception of Mexico City, Protestant missionaries carried out their work in northern Mexico where the geographic, culture, and infrastructure allowed them to maintain weak ties with missions in the southern United States. The patterns of Protestant settlements in southern Mexico although similar at times followed some marked differences at others. While in Campeche and Yucatán the presence of indigenous and European population as well as extensive agricultural practices contributed to the strong presence of the Roman Catholic Church, in Tabasco, small indigenous populations and poor soils for agriculture created a *vacant religious space* where religious pluralism could be established.

Early Protestant missionaries concentrated their efforts in northern Mexico and followed the expanding railroad routes from southern United States. Efforts in southern Mexico follow a different pathway. Although ports and railroads offered access to Protestant missionaries in Campeche and Yucatán much earlier than in Tabasco, Protestant settlement and expansion occurred there much more slowly than in Tabasco

where the port of Frontera and the growing river transportation between 1880 and 1910 offered Protestant missionaries, particularly Presbyterians, with the possibility to create niches of Protestantism. In southern Mexico, endemic and chronic illness played an important role in the development of religious pluralism. While poor health conditions and endemic illnesses created an incentive for Protestant organizations to settle in areas that needed them the most following their missionary zeal. Protestant organizations ability to tie their evangelization efforts with providing health services solidified their presence in the communities they first entered.

The third chapter analyzes the role that structural and cultural factors, such as population characteristics, ethnic composition, migration, the influence of women, education, types of community organization and economic development, had in the growth of Protestant mission in the selected regions. The ethnic composition of the three selected cases varied considerably and influenced the Protestant settlement patterns observed particularly during the early settlement period. Since in Tabasco there was a very small percentage of people who spoke an indigenous language, Protestant missionaries did not have to wait until Protestant religious materials were available in an indigenous language and ministers who only spoke Spanish were able to enter even the most rural communities.

In the case of Yucatán, during the early period of settlement, missionaries were only able to settle in the larger communities, where people were more likely to have been assimilated into the Spanish culture and it was necessary for missionaries to learn Yucatecan Maya before they were able to take their religious message into rural communities. Religious pluralism in Campeche followed a pattern similar to that found in rural and ethnic communities in other parts of Mexico after the 1960s. The pattern of conversion in Campeche focused on physical healing, on the personal transformation of

the disadvantaged members of the community and the wellbeing of familial organizations. These new types of conversion were also in the hands of different religious denominations, particularly of Pentecostal and Neo Pentecostal origin.

Migration played an important and at times unexpected role in the creation of religious pluralism in Mexico. During the early period of settlement, Protestant missionaries from the United States arrived in Mexico driven by their missionary zeal and settled in areas where they perceived the spiritual and practical needs where highest. In several occasions, a single Protestant immigrant was responsible for the creation of niches of Protestantism. In other, new Protestant communities arriving from abroad were behind the creation of religious pluralism.

In terms of conversion, women were many times the first ones to convert and to attend services, even when the community at large did not want to become involved. After foreign missionaries were forced to abandon the mission station, work was left in the hands of a local woman who successfully continued to distribute Bibles and tracts[11]. Foreign missionary women played a pivotal role in the development of religious pluralism. For the most part, Protestant missionary women from the United States were in charge of social programs as well as education efforts with in the mission organization. Working on social programs as well as participating in the day-to-day decision process of the congregation provided women with the opportunity to develop skills that were not available to them in other organizations existing at that the time in Mexico.

During the early period of Protestant expansion, literacy efforts, mission schools, and printing contributed to the creation of niches of Protestantism in southern Mexico. Protestant organizations in Mexico recognized the educational challenges that Mexico

[11] Tracts are small pamphlets containing religious messages.

faced at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries and were able to develop strategies to address those challenges. The first challenge Protestant missionaries recognized and were able to address was the lack of attention given to the education of women and girls. The second challenge was the lack of qualified teachers, particularly in light of the role the Roman Catholic Church had in education and the anticlerical sentiments of the 1920s. Third, Protestant organizations recognized the need for pedagogical materials that could be used by members of their congregations even if qualified teaches were not available. Protestant organizations, particularly the Presbyterian Church of the United States, were successful in circumventing the increasing calls for secular education during the 1920s and 1930s in Mexico.

In Yucatán and Campeche, a strong community organization linked to the economic and social structure of the *hacienda* hindered the growth of religious pluralism until the 1930s when large landholdings were finally broken. Within the *hacienda* system, community members had to belong and actively participate in the social and cultural structures that ensured their participation in the redistribution of resources. Particularly in the case of Yucatán, the social and cultural structures were linked to Roman Catholic rituals. Even the *hacienda's* distinct layout, with the *casco*, being the center of the economic, social, cultural, and most important religious activities hindered the ability of individuals to choose a different religious affiliation. It was not until the *hacienda's* system collapsed in the 1930s that religious pluralism began to grow in Yucatán.

The economic development of the state of Tabasco followed a different pathway that contributed to the creation of religious pluralism. Prior to the last decade of the 19th century, the main economic activity in the state of Tabasco centered on subsistence agriculture and small production for the local markets. It was not until the last decade of

the 19th century that economic activities depended upon foreign investment and markets. The government of Tabasco established policies that ensured the growth of the mono-cropping economies and began creating a growing but impoverished middle class, which began to view Protestantism as more in touch with their needs. In addition, legislative efforts, cooperatives, and unions ensured that communities were not centered within one overreaching Roman Catholic umbrella, and individuals were allowed to interact within different social circles, but also were allowed to belong to different religious organizations without missing out on the distribution of resources.

The fourth chapter analyzes the strength of the Roman Catholic Church in southern Mexico and examines some of the liberal and conservative state policies at key historical periods that favored or limited the expansion of Protestant missions in the selected regions, as well as curtailing or strengthening the presence and influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Although, the Roman Catholic Church had dominated the religious landscape of Mexico since colonial times its presence and strength had not been homogeneous. In the states of Campeche and Yucatán, the early development of cattle ranches, *haciendas*, and a considerable presence of indigenous and European settlers created a religious market place dominated since colonial times by several Roman Catholic groups. During the period of modernization, the governments of Campeche and Yucatán established strong ties with the Roman Catholic Church and used its infrastructure to change the social, cultural, and educational policies of the state.

However, in the case of Tabasco, the presence of the Roman Catholic Church was sporadic at best. During the colonial period (1550 – 1810) harsh environmental conditions, poor agricultural soils, pirate attacks, poor health conditions, and the considerable lack of ethnic groups and large European settlements limited the presence of Roman Catholic groups. During the Mexican American and the Franco Mexican

conflicts, the Roman Catholic presence suffered considerable losses, as foreign armies destroyed some of its buildings and priests were force to abandon the region. The period of peace between the State and the Roman Catholic Church that strengthened its presence in Tabasco between 1876 and 1910 ended when the anticlerical legislature began restricting the power of the Roman Catholic Church and by the 1920s limited the number of priests, required them to be of Mexican origin and to get married. Indirectly, the legislature created and environment in which religious pluralism could grow.

Finally, it was not only the political and cultural structure of the three cases that created religious pluralism at different periods, local pastors and missionaries played a pivotal role in the growth of Protestant congregations in southern Mexico. Protestant congregations were often left in the hands of local pastors and the adult membership who were able to establish strong ties with their membership and had a better understanding of the needs of their communities than Roman Catholic priests had sometimes.

This dissertation concludes with a general discussion of the key findings and suggests venues of future research. The early settlement of Protestant organizations occurred in areas where the environment and the population characteristics combined to create a *vacuum* in the religious field that was recognized and filled first by Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, and later by Seventh-day Adventists, Church of God, and Assemblies of God denominations. Protestant congregations, particularly Presbyterians, grew rapidly in Tabasco starting in the 1880s. However, it was not until the economic and political turmoil of the 1920s and 1930s changed the community organization and broke some of the strong community ties linked to Roman Catholic traditions and rituals that niches of Protestantism were established in Campeche and Yucatán.

In Yucatán, Protestant congregations began to expand in the 1920s when the economic crisis of the henequen industry disrupted community organizations and pastors were able to establish stronger ties with members of the changing communities while maintaining weak ties with other congregations in Mexico and abroad. However, it was not until the 1930s that Protestant denominations, such as the Seven-day Adventists and the Church of God were able to establish niches of Protestantism in Campeche mostly in the more urban areas where they were fulfilling the needs of the most disadvantaged members of society and addressing new social problems.

At the end of the period of study, the Roman Catholic Church continued to be the dominant religious tradition. However, Protestant denominations had steadily grown in numbers and in influence as Seventh-day Adventist and Pentecostal traditions joined the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists that had dominated the southern religious field since the 1880s. Local ministers were in charge of their own congregations and had established strong ties with the local and state governments. By the 1960s, Protestant congregations were not only satisfying the spiritual needs of their members, but also influencing the health and educational outcomes of the communities they occupied.

Chapter Two

Environmental Opportunities

This chapter analyses the role that geographic and environmental characteristics of the three cases played on the creation of religious pluralism in southern Mexico. Early Protestant missionaries concentrated their first efforts in northern Mexico and followed the expanding railroad routes from southern United States. However, their efforts in southern Mexico followed a different pathway. Although ports and railroads offered early and easy access to Protestant missionaries in Campeche and Yucatán, their expansion occurred much more slowly than in Tabasco where the port of Frontera and the growing river transportation between 1880 and 1910 offered Protestant missionaries, particularly Presbyterians, the opportunity to create niches of Protestantism. In addition, endemic and chronic illness in southern Mexico played an important role in the development of religious pluralism.

This chapter seeks to highlight how selected geographic and environmental characteristics influence the creation of *vacuums* in religious institutional presence and support where religious pluralism could develop. As depicted in the model below (fig 2.1) this dissertation analyzes how the different environmental characteristics, such as climate, soil, and hinterland access influenced population settlements and economic development in the selected cases. Particular attention will be given to the accessibility from other areas of the country and from abroad, as well as the economic and political connections with the United States. By examining how the environment influence the available river and land transportation as well as the health conditions, this dissertation will explain how the structural differences observed among the three cases contributed to

the early settlement of Protestant denomination in Tabasco while delaying their entrance into the Yucatán and Campeche markets.

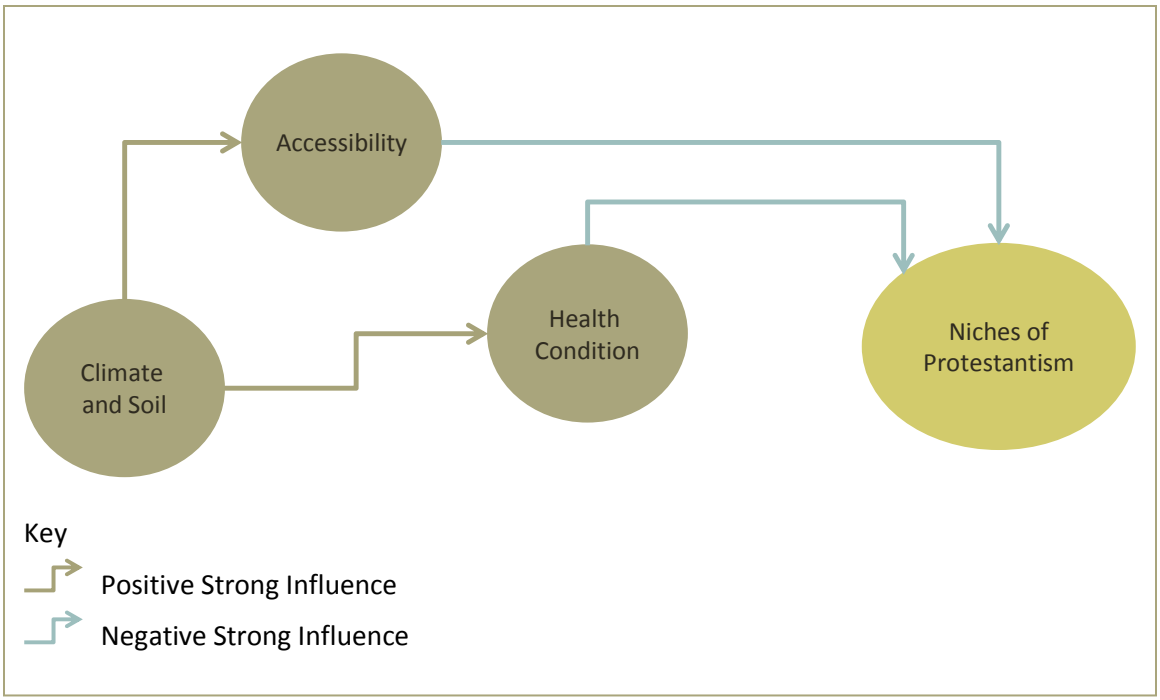


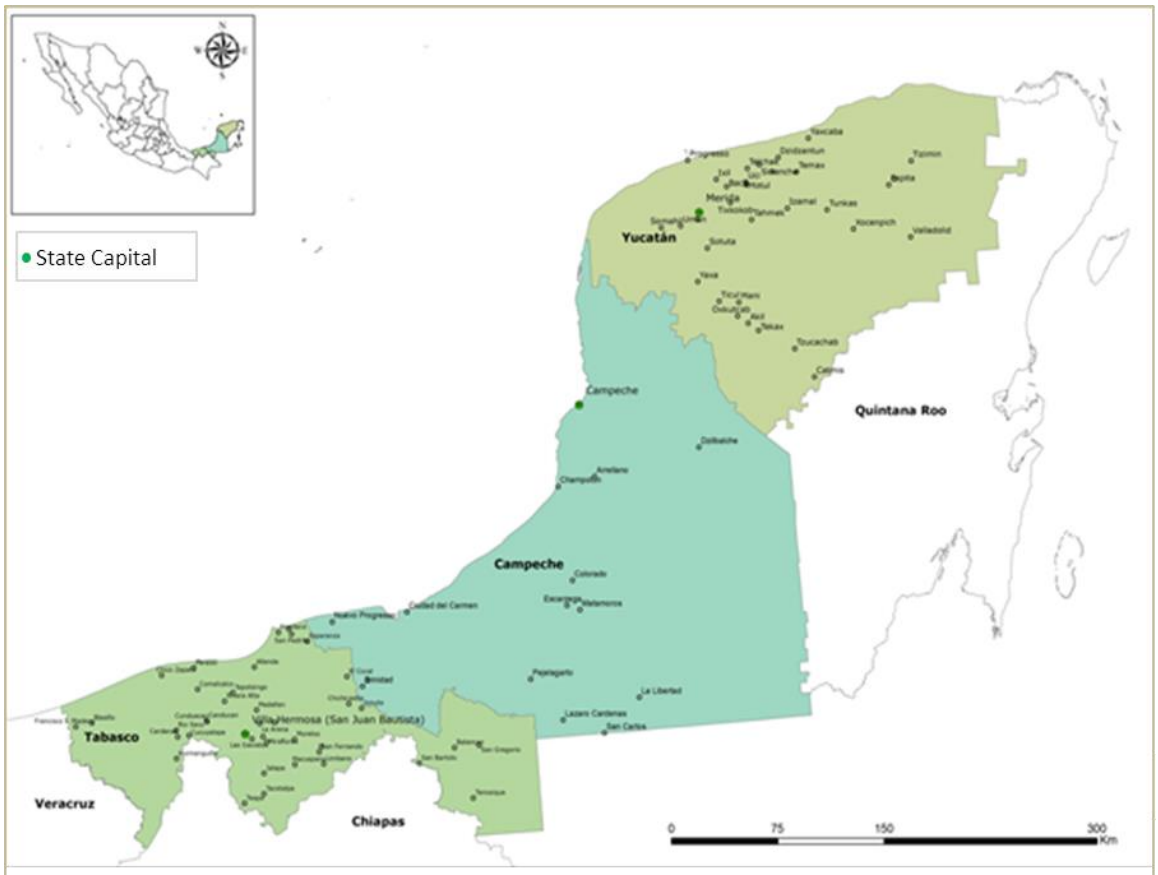
Figure 2.1. Model of the Influence of Environmental Characteristics on the Development of Niches of Protestantism in Southern Mexico

THE CASES: CAMPECHE, TABASCO, AND YUCATÁN

Location, Climate, and Internal Division: 1885-1960

The following section describes in detail the geographic location, climate, and internal political division of the selected cases. The three cases selected for this study are located in southern Mexico (fig. 2.2). The states of Campeche and Yucatán are located in eastern and northern end of the Yucatán Peninsula (the land that separates the Gulf of Mexico from the Caribbean Sea), while the state of Tabasco is part of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (a narrow strip of land between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean).

The average annual temperature of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán during the period of study (table 2.1) was 25° Celsius (77° F), although at the city of Tenosique, Tabasco the average temperature reached 28° Celsius (82.4° F). Rainfall was higher in the state of Tabasco, reaching 1,716.5 millimeters (67.57 in) in 1910 at the coastal city of Frontera and almost 2,000 millimeters (78.74 in) at the city of Tenosique than in the states of Campeche and Yucatán where the average annual rainfall was only about 900 millimeters (35.43 in) in 1910 (Estadística, 1921, 1940).



Map by Ryan Schuermann

Figure 2.2 Map of Area of Study: Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatán

The State of Campeche

The state of Campeche is located at the southern end of the Yucatán Peninsula. The state borders to the north with the state of Yucatán, to the west with the state of Quintana Roo, to the south with the Republic of Guatemala, to the west with the state of Tabasco and with the Gulf of Mexico (Tamayo, 1995). The climate is warm and humid (Estadística, 1921). Along the lagoons on the coast the vegetation includes mangroves with clumps of trees including cypress trees and small savannas with palm trees and dwarf palmettos and at the turn of the 19th century several farms were located along the coast (Picking, 1890c). The state is low and flat with a few hills on the eastern and northern part of the state where natural fresh water pools, called *cenotes*, form as water filters to underground caves through the limestone (Florescano et al., 1988).

Table 2.1. Temperature, Rain Fall, Altitude, Latitude, and Longitude of Selected Cities in 1910

State	Capital	Other Cities	Annual Average Temperature in Celsius (1)	Average Rain Fall in Millimeters (1)	Altitude in Meters (1)	Latitude (2)	Longitude (2)
Campeche	Campeche	-	25.8	915.9	5	19.8452	-90.5068
Tabasco	San Juan Bautista (Villa Hermosa)	-	-	-	-	18.0005	-92.9356
		Frontera	25.5	1,716.5	2	18.5308	-92.6533
		Tenosique	27.6	1,960.6	60	17.6025	-91.4170
Yucatán	Mérida	-	25.7	911.6	8	20.9790	-89.6227
Mexico	México City	-	-	-	-	19.4344	-99.1330

Sources:
(1) DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. México : INEGI
(2) DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. México : INEGI

The state of Campeche encompassed an area of approximately 46,855 square kilometers (29,108 square miles) in 1910 (Estadística, 1910) and by 1921, the territory of Campeche comprised 50,952 km^2 (31,660 square miles) after the political borders with Tabasco and Quintana Roo became established (Estadística, 1921). The internal political division of Campeche has gone through several modifications between 1900 and 1960. In 1900, the state was divided into six *partidos*: Campeche (where the capital is located), Carmen, Champotón, Hecelchacán, Los Chenes, and the Zona de Pácificos (Pácificos del Sur) (Peñafiel, 1905). By 1910, the state was divided into twenty-two municipalities and finally in 1921, some of the municipalities were combined into eight and the political division of the state of Campeche remained through 1960 (Estadística, 1900, 1921, 1960). The municipalities according to the 1960 census were Calkini, Campeche (where the state capital is located), Carmen, Champotón, Hecelchakán, Hopelchen, Palizada, and Tenabo (Estadística, 1960).

The State of Tabasco

The second case, the state of Tabasco (fig. 2.2), is located on the southern Gulf Coast of Mexico within the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, a narrow strip of land that connects the bay of Campeche in the Gulf of Mexico with the Gulf of Tehuantepec in the Pacific Ocean (Tamayo, 1995). The state borders to the north with the Gulf of Mexico, to the west with the Mexican state of Veracruz, to the east with the Mexican state of Campeche and with the Republic of Guatemala, and to the south it borders the Mexican state of Chiapas (Florescano et al., 1988). The climate of the state is warm and humid (Estadística, 1921). The terrain of the state is for the most part flat and low, with a few hills starting to form in the area bordering the state of Chiapas. Along the coast, rivers,

and lagoons, the vegetation is mostly mangroves (Tamayo, 1995) and in the southern part of the state, the vegetation is mostly rainforest and well suited for the growth of exotic woods, including mahogany and rubber trees (Martinez-Assad, 2006). The two largest rivers by runoff in Mexico are in the state of Tabasco, the Grijalva and the Usumacinta (Michael E. Bonine, Robert K. Holz, Clark C. Gill, James P. Weiler, & Arbingast., 1970). On the coast, the Grijalva and Usumacinta rivers create large sand bars that need to be trenched regularly (Tamayo, 1995) in order to maintain good access to the port of Frontera. The port of Frontera offered the only reliable access to the state until the 1950s when the railroad finally connected the state with the rest of the country (Martinez-Assad, 2006).

The state of Tabasco was established by the Mexican Constitution of 1824 (INEGI, 2000) and its borders have remained stable since 1917 (Tamayo, 1995). Tabasco's territorial limits encompassed in 1910 approximately 26,871 km^2 (16,696.9 square miles) (table 2.2). Since 1921, the territory of Tabasco has remained at 25,337 km^2 (15,743.7 square miles). The state is divided into seventeen municipalities and has remained stable since the 1895 census (Estadística, 1910).

The municipalities of Tabasco are grouped into four geo-economic and administrative regions. The first region, *los ríos* (the rivers) includes the municipalities of Tenosique, Balancan, Emiliano Zapata (earlier named Montecristo), Jonuta, and Centla. The municipalities in the rivers border the state of Campeche and the Republic of Guatemala. The second region, *la sierra* (the mountains) includes the municipalities of Teapa, Tecotalpa, Jalapa, and Macuspana. The mountains region is located along the border with the state of Chiapas. The third region, *el centro* (the center), includes the

municipality of Centro where the state capital Villahermosa[12] (San Juan Bautista) is located. Finally, the fourth region, *la Chontalpa,* includes the municipalities of Huimanguillo, Cárdenas, Canduacán, Nacajuca, Jalpa, Paraíso, and Comalcalco, which comprises the municipalities bordering the state of Veracruz and the Gulf of Mexico (Martinez-Assad, 2006). It is in the region of *la Chontalpa* that religious diversity can be observed starting in the 1880s.

Table 2.2. Territory in Square Kilometers and Internal Political Division for 1900, 1910, 1921 and 1960

State	1900		1910		1921	1960
	Territory (1)	Municipalities (2)	Territory (1)	Municipalities (2)	Territory (1)	Municipalities (3)
Campeche	46 845	36	46 855	22	50 952	8
Tabasco	26 094	17	26 871	17	25 337	17
Yucatán	91 201	85	41 287	86	38 508	106
México	-	-	-	-	1 969 154	-

Sources:
(1) DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos.
(2) DGE. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos.
(3) DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.

The State of Yucatán

The third case, the state of Yucatán, is located at the northern end of the Yucatán Peninsula (fig. 2.2). It borders to the north with the Gulf of Mexico, to the east and southeast with the state of Quintana Roo and to the southwest with the state of Campeche (Tamayo, 1995). Most of the state is low and flat with dry areas in the north and rainforest closer to the border with Campeche, mangroves grow along the cost as well as

[12] The town of Villahermosa was officially founded in 1564. In 1826, the town received the rank of Villa and its name was change to San Juan Bautista de la Villa Hermosa. In 1916 the anticlerical government of Governor Francisco J. Múgica, ordered that the city's name would be restored to the original Villahermosa (Martinez-Assad, 2006).

cacao tree groves and other small trees (Florescano et al., 1988; Picking, 1890c). However, most of the state is considerably drier than the two other cases (Estadística, 1921).

In October of 1902 the state of Yucatán lost almost half of his territory to the creation of the territory of Quintana Roo (Estadística, 1921; Florescano et al., 1988) leaving it with approximately 41,287 square kilometers (25,655 square miles) (Peñafiel, 1905). The internal political division of Yucatán changed dramatically between 1900 and 1960. In 1900 the state of Yucatán was divided into seventeen *partidos:* Acanceh, Espita, Humucmá, Izamal, Las Islas, which became part of the state of Quintana Roo in 1902, Maxcanu, Mérida (where the state capital is located), Motul, Peto, Progreso, Sotuta, Tekax, Temax, Ticul, Tizimín, Tixkokob, and Valladolid (Estadística, 1900). In 1910, the state of Yucatán was divided into eighty-six municipalities; by 1960, the state was divided into 106 municipalities (table 2.2). The territory of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán has remained stable since 1921.

ADVANCE OF PROTESTANTISM

General Patterns of Expansion

Protestant missionaries' efforts in general followed three overall models of expansion. The first model could be described as driven by missionary zeal, which drove missionaries to settle in *vacant religious spaces*, or in areas were other religious missionary efforts have not been successfully established (Lester, 2006). The second model could be described as driven by cases in which missionaries followed colonial efforts to monitor the relationships between colonizers and indigenous peoples (Lester 2006). The third and final model is exemplified by the massive missionary movement

that emanated from the United States starting in the 1800s and consisted in sending large numbers of highly educated men and women "into the wilderness to nurture and preserve Christ's Church" (Hutchinson, 1987. 7). The three models of expansion will serve to buttress the analysis of the role that geography played in the settlement of Protestant missionaries in southern Mexico.

Settlement Patterns in Northern Mexico

In general, Mexico was not a target for large number of Protestant missionaries until the middle of the 19th century. Their efforts were limited by the early, continued, and strong presence of the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, with the exception of Mexico City, Protestant missionaries carried out their work in northern Mexico where the geographic, culture, and infrastructure allowed them to maintain strong ties with missions in the southern United States. Early Presbyterian missions were established in towns along the Mexican Central Railroad from El Paso, Texas through the states of Zacatecas and Durango, and from San Antonio, Texas to the cities of Monterey in the state of Nuevo León and Saltillo in the state of Coahuila (*Annual Report to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1886).

Early missionary accounts highlight the importance of the railroad that connected Mexico and the United States. According to the historical records of the American Bible Society, in 1859 Rev. B. P. Thompson was appointed "[a]gent to distribute Scriptures among the Spanish speaking people along the Rio Grande. Ms. Melinda Ranking of Brownsville, Texas, also distributed Scriptures" (Patterson, 1979). Furthermore, Southern Baptists established the First Baptist Church in Monterrey, Nuevo León, in 1864 and within a few years operated hospitals, schools, seminaries, and printing shops in

several states in northern, western, and central Mexico (Reid, 1952). At the turn of the century, the growing number of railroad lines connected the northern missions in Mexico with their counterparts in the United States. Along the northern states bordering the United States, by 1902 there were five mission stations and thirty-three outstations served by twenty-two Mexican workers. In addition, there were twenty-one churches with a total membership of 1,121 communicants, eight students were enrolled in the theological school, 177 students were attending the three boarding high schools and "four schools served 133 pupils" ("Mexico," 1904 p. 34).

Settlement Patterns in Southern Mexico

Protestant missionary efforts in the southern part of Mexico followed different settlement patterns and were influenced by environmental opportunities and limitation. In the case of Tabasco poor soils for extensive agriculture, lack of overland transportation that limited communications with other areas of the country, and poor health conditions limited and influenced the types of settlement patterns that would be open to the early and strong presence of Roman Catholic organizations in the area. While in the cases of Campeche and Yucatán land for extensive agriculture and a stable indigenous population allowed for the early and strong presence of the Roman Catholic Church. In addition, the early development of ranching and later extensive agriculture as well as the large presence of indigenous groups in Campeche and Yucatán influenced the creation of strong ethnic communities with strong ties linked to Roman Catholic rituals and traditions. In the three cases, environmental opportunities and limitations had a powerful influence to the way communities where constructed, how resources were distributed, and how religious pluralism developed.

Ports, Rivers, and Railroads: 1880-1950

Many of the early efforts of Protestant missionaries concentrated in northern Mexico. Southern Baptists established the First Baptist Church in Monterrey, Nuevo León, in 1864 and within a few years operated hospitals, schools, seminaries, and printing shops in several states in northern, western, and central Mexico (Reid, 1952). Early Presbyterian missions were established in towns along the Mexican Central Railroad from El Paso, Texas, in the southern United States and through the Mexican states of Zacatecas and Durango in the western part of the country(*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886).

Further efforts by Baptists missionaries and representatives of the American Bible Society followed from the city of San Antonio, Texas, to the cities of Monterey in the state of Nuevo León and Saltillo in the state of Coahuila in the north-eastern part of the country (*Annual Report to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1886). However, efforts along the Pacific and the Gulf coasts of Mexico and towards the inland took place mostly after 1880 (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907). The port and growing river transportation in Tabasco between 1880 and 1910 offered Protestant missionaries, particularly Presbyterians, with the possibility to enter a *vacant religious space*, similar to what the railroad had to offer in northern Mexico.

The reports of the missionaries as well as the navigation accounts collected by merchant marines in the region help paint a portrait of the environmental limitations as well as the religious market present at the turn of the 19th century in the three areas of study. Unexpectedly, the navigation account of the merchant marines provided a first step in reconstructing what the religious market place looked like in southern Mexico during

the early settlement period between 1880 and 1910. It is interesting to point out that in the cases of Campeche and Yucatán Roman Catholic churches were used as points of reference, not only for navigation of the coastline and to find safe ports, but also as makers to indicate where limited resources could be found. For example, at least four Roman Catholic churches in Campeche served as markers to indicate safe ports and the location of fresh water in 1865 (Picking, 1890c). Furthermore, one of the earliest lighthouses in Campeche was at the San José Church (Rowlett, 2004). However, in the case of Tabasco there is no mention of Roman Catholic churches as points of reference in the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico or that of the rivers that crisscross the state; instead, forts and other secular structures served as markers.

Surprisingly, the proximity of San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) to the sea and the river access contributed to the creation of *religious vacant spaces*, to a differentiation of institutional spheres, as early as the 1600s. Roman Catholic missionaries were forced to abandon their missions on the coast of Tabasco after pirate attacks starting as early as the 1600s and 1700s (Martinez-Assad, 2006). Furthermore, during the Mexican-American War, the United States navy attacked and destroyed the Roman Catholic churches in Frontera and San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) forcing priests once again to abandon their congregations and although priests returned, their presence remained sporadic at best particularly in the rural communities (Arbingast et al., 1975).

Ports and Railroads in Campeche

In the state of Campeche, several ports were established earlier and offered better access than the ports in Tabasco (fig. 2.3). Although the port of Campeche offered access to the Roman Catholic evangelization of Campeche, Yucatán, and Chiapas starting in the

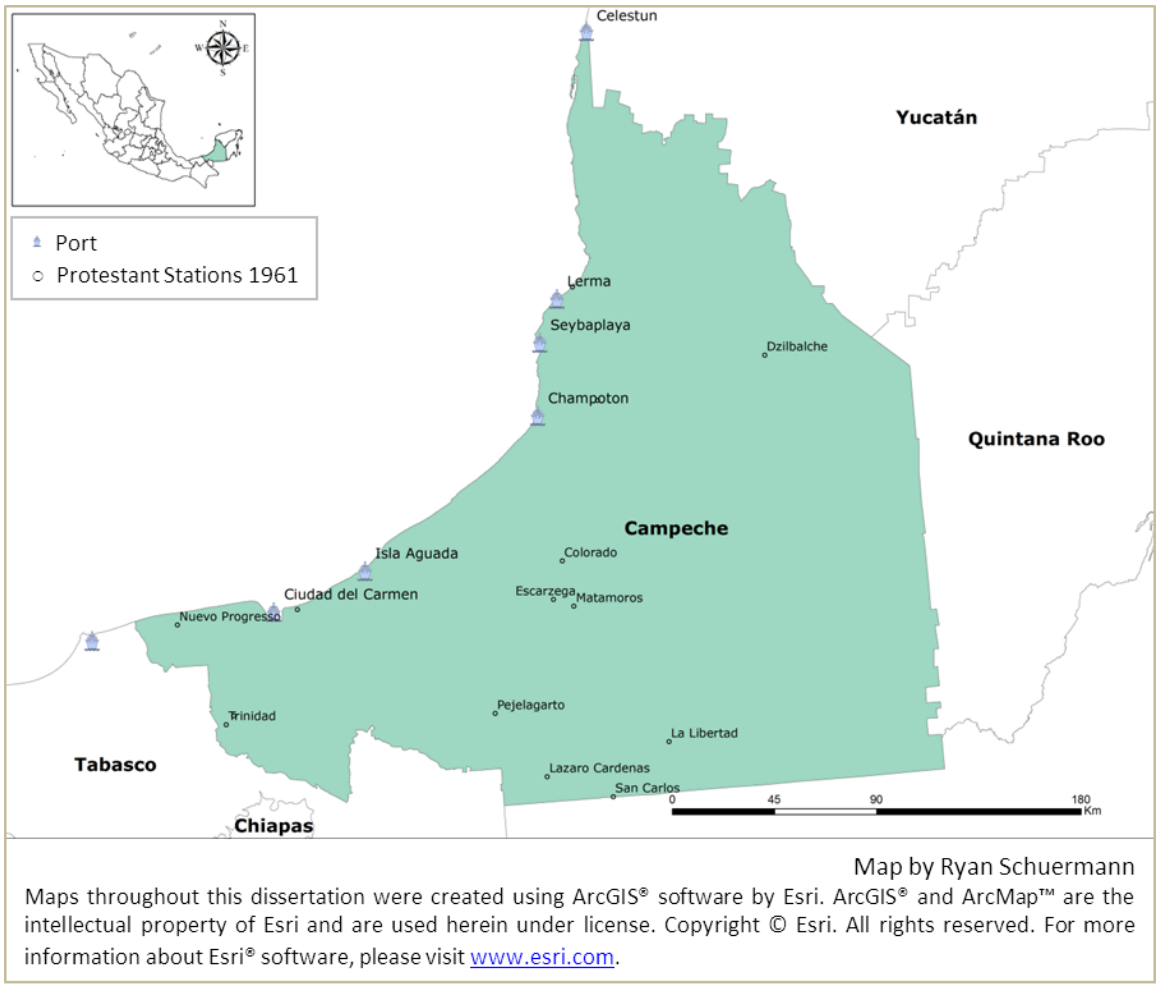


Figure 2.3. Ports of Campeche and Protestant Stations in 1961

1600s, Protestant missionaries were not able to take advantage of the access provided and encountered indifference or violence well into the 1930s. In 1890, the ports of Ciudad del Carmen, Lerma, Campeche, and Champotón offered easier access to larger vessels, those drawing up to thirteen feet, than the small port of Frontera in Tabasco (Picking, 1890c). Six lighthouses ensured safe harbor to vessels arriving to Campeche and supplies such as

fresh water, firewood, beef, and vegetables were easily attainable[13] (Picking, 1890a; Rowlett, 2004).

Although, state owned railroads in Campeche were limited, the steam-powered railroads lines available linked the Campeche with the main cities in the Yucatán Peninsula. Two steam railroads linked the City of Campeche with the cities of Mérida, Progreso, Uman and Hunucmá in the state of Yucatán (Peñafiel, 1900). The second steam railroad covered the six kilometers (3.7 miles) between the city of Campeche and the port of Lerma (Peñafiel, 1900). Several *haciendas* near the towns of Champotón, Yohaltún, and Pital owned several animal and portable railroads of French design covering a total of eighty-four kilometers (52.3 miles) (Peñafiel, 1900).

Along the coastline of Campeche, Roman Catholic churches in Campeche were used as navigation markers as well as markers to find scarce supplies. According to merchant marine accounts, the town of Lerma could be easily recognizable from a great distance by the large white Roman Catholic church and water supplies that could be difficult to locate during the dry season, such as fresh water could always be found at the *Soler* Cattle Ranch one mile east of the Roman Catholic church (Picking, 1890c). Similarly, the city of Campeche, the second largest city in the Yucatán peninsula, "lying so low, is not seen at more than nine or ten miles, and not even at this distance without the sun [shining] on the cupolas of the churches" (Picking, 1890c. 58). Even though Campeche was vulnerable to pirate attacks, the hexagonal wall surrounding the city since 1704 offered protection (Picking, 1890c).

Although the port at Campeche was the second largest in the selected area of interest (following the port at Progreso in Yucatán) and played an important role in the

[13] Appendix 2.1 offers a complete list of lighthouses in the area, their reach in miles and the year they were established.

Roman Catholic evangelization of Campeche and Yucatán, Protestant missionaries were unable to enter Campeche's religious market until much later than in Tabasco and Yucatán. Several unsuccessful attempts were made by Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries to establish missions in Campeche and Ciudad del Carmen between 1880 and 1910 (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895; *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1914). However, religious pluralism in Campeche did not start until the 1930s when the first Presbyterian mission was permanently established in Campeche and Seven-Day Adventists, Church of God, and Assemblies of God were able to enter the religious market place in the 1940s (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Ports, Waterways, and Railroads in Tabasco

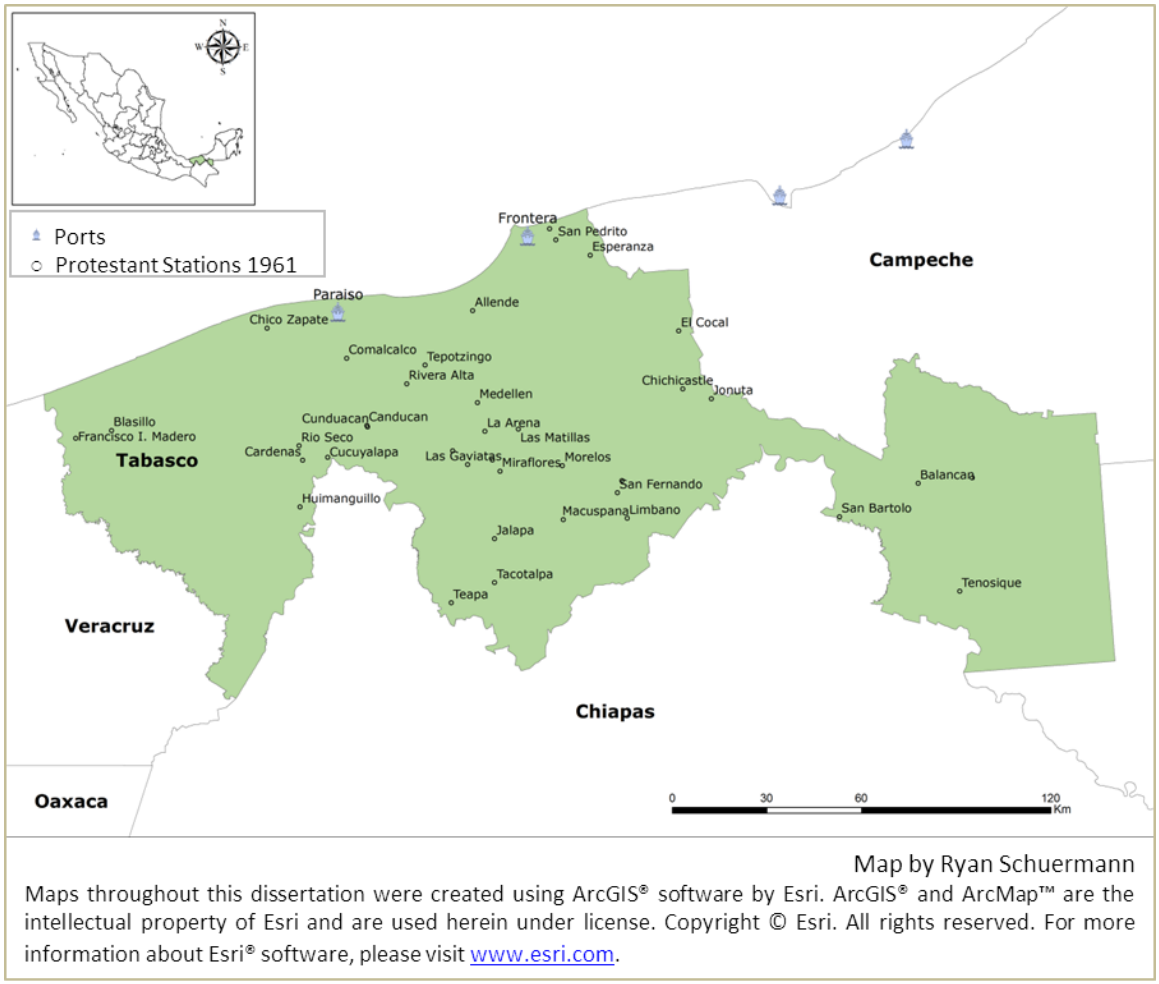
Given the physical environment of the state of Tabasco, ports and rivers played an important role in this region by ensuring not only its economic and social development, but also the growth of religious pluralism. Figure 2.4 shows how in 1890, the port of Frontera was the only reliable link between Tabasco and the rest of the world until 1950 when the railroad finally connected the state with the rest of the country[14].

The port of Frontera developed much later than the ports of Campeche and Yucatán. The lighthouse at Frontera was constructed in 1882 with a reach of thirty-seven miles, while the main lighthouse in Campeche had been in operation since 1857 and had a reach of seventy-five miles[15]. The port at Frontera was small, offered few supplies, and since the Grijalva and Usumacinta rivers created a treacherous sand bar that needed to be

[14] The port of Paraíso (at Dos Bocas) was constructed in the 1970s during the growth of the oil industry (Martinez-Assad, 2006).

[15] Appendix 2.1 offers a complete list of lighthouses in the area, their reach in miles, and the year they were establish.

constantly trenched, the access to larger ships was limited (Rowlett, 2004; Tamayo, 1995). In fact, during the rainy seasons, between May and September, vessels were detained at the port of Frontera for up to two months waiting for sufficient water to cross



Map by Ryan Schuermann

Figure 2.4. Ports of Tabasco and Protestant Stations in 1961

the bar (Picking, 1890c). Supplies for ships arriving at the Port of Frontera had to be brought by canoes from the rest of the state, pigs, poultry, eggs, and vegetables were easily available and river fish was abundant, however poor quality beef was only available two or three times a week and fruit was very scarce (Picking, 1890c).

Towards the end of the 19th century, the river transportation industry continued to develop between the cities of San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) and Tenosique (110 miles southeast of the capital) and the port of Frontera due to the increased demand for fine woods and timber (Martinez-Assad, 2006). In Tabasco, the Grijalva and Usumacinta rivers provided access to the City of San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), about seventy-two miles from the entrance of the rivers to vessels of 8 feet draught (Peñafiel, 1901; Picking, 1890c).

In Tabasco, lowland marshes and swamps, as well as numerous stream meanders, did not allow for the extensive development of railroads. However, it facilitated the growth of widespread river transportation. For example, the *Compañia de Navegación* between the Grijalva, the Usumacinta, and the Palizada rivers had a five year contract starting in 1894 to provide postal services to towns along the rivers between San Juan Bautista and Tenosique, including Frontera, Palizada, Jonuta, Montecristo, and Balancan in Tabasco, and Carmen in the state of Campeche (Peñafiel, 1901). On the same river bank, approximately one mile from the Tabasco river entrance there was a small fort with twelve guns and accommodations for a single boat's crew (Picking, 1890c). There is no mention of any Roman Catholic churches as navigation markers such as the ones mentioned for both the state of Campeche and Yucatán. A second company provided postal services to the towns along the Gonzalez and Mezcalapa rivers to the towns of Huimanguillo and Boca Nueva and to Barra de Dos Bocas (near Paraíso) and received a subsidy of $5,400 pesos annually (Peñafiel, 1901).

At the end of the 19th century there were only three state owned railroad lines established in the state of Tabasco (Peñafiel, 1900). The first line went from the capital San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), to Paso del Carrizal on the bank of the Carrizal River. The railroad was powered by horses or mules and it covered a distance of 5.8 kilometers

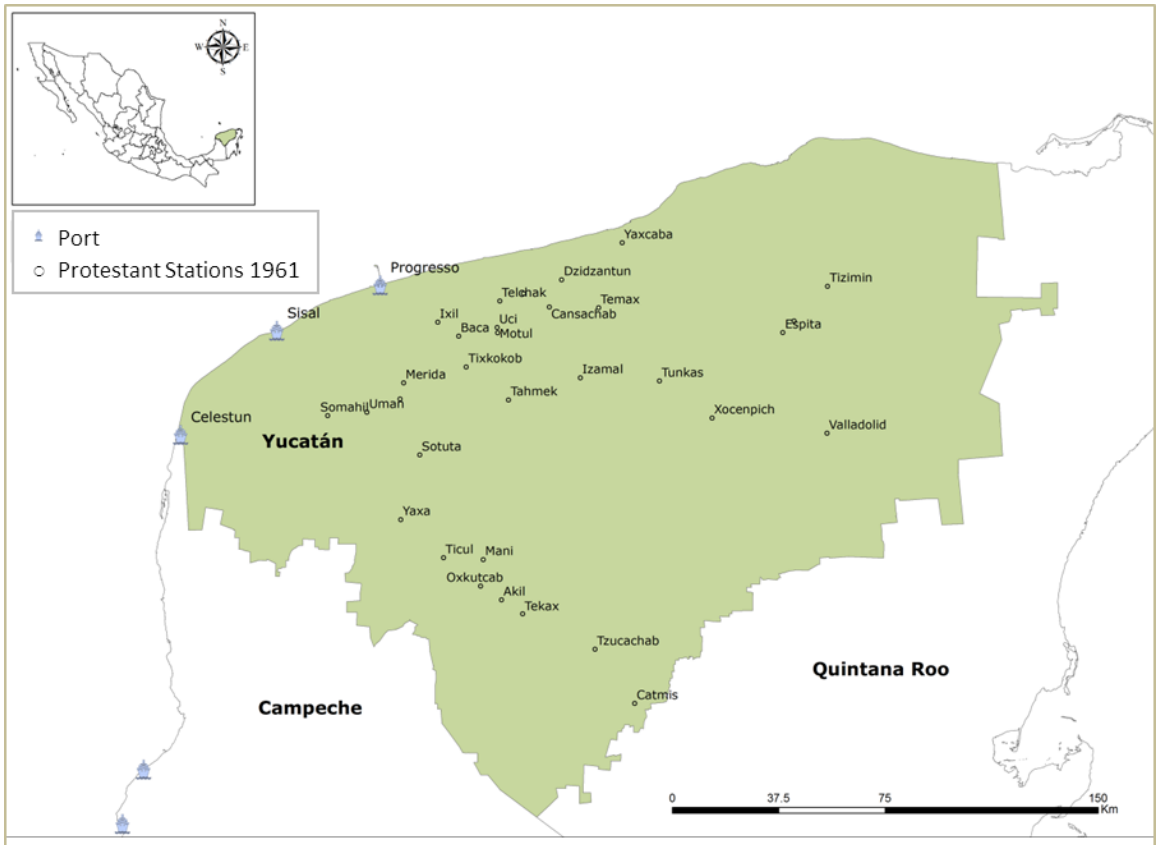
(3.6 miles) but it was mostly used for the transportation of products brought from the port of Frontera in canoes (Peñafiel, 1900). The second, covered the 7.6 kilometers (4.7 miles) between the town of Cárdenas and the port at the Grijalva river (Peñafiel, 1900). The third line connected San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) with Paso de Tierra Colorada on the banks of the Grijalva River only 5.4 kilometers (3.4 miles) away (Peñafiel, 1900). In addition, there was one animal powered railroad line that belonged to a foreign company in the state of Tabasco (Peñafiel, 1900). It linked the town of Cárdenas with the town of Nueva Zelandia, a sugar mill, eight kilometers (five miles) to the south (Peñafiel, 1900). It was not until the 1950s that the national railroad finally connected the city of Villahermosa with the rest of the country, although the main railroad bypassed most of the state even as late as the 1970s (Michael E. Bonine et al., 1970).

While in the northern Mexican frontier, Protestant missionary efforts followed expanding railroads that allowed missionaries to travel and settle in cities and towns along the railroad routes and provided secure routes for the delivery of Bibles and other religious literature, in Tabasco ports and extensive river transportation offered similar opportunities since land transportation was extremely limited. The port at Frontera linked the state of Tabasco with the ports of Veracruz, Tuxpan, and Tampico in Mexico, with the ports of New York, New Orleans, and Galveston, in the USA, and with ports in the Caribbean and Europe, as well as it played an important role in the economic development of the region (Peñafiel, 1901). It was from the port of Frontera that the first shipment of bananas destined for the United Stated departed in 1909 and many of the *fincas* and farms that developed in the region during the first decades of the 20th century took advantage of the established river transportation (Ridgeway, 2001). It was to the port of Frontera that the first Protestant missionaries arrived in the 1880s and it was in the cities along the rivers, Frontera, Paraíso, Comalcalco, Canduacán, and San Juan Bautista

(Villahermosa) where Protestant missionaries first settled and began creating niches of religious pluralism.

Ports and Railroads in Yucatán

Ports and railroads in Yucatán, similarly to Tabasco's experience, contributed to the development of religious pluralism, although it was not until the 1920s that Protestant missionaries were able to expand beyond the main port of Progreso and the capital city of Mérida. Presbyterians established the first mission stations in Progreso and in Mérida in the 1880s, but it was not until the 1920s that Protestant missionaries were able to establish churches in Ticul, Umán, and Maxcanú to the southwest of the capital and at Motul to the west. The town of Celestún (fig. 2.5) was the first port in the state of Yucatán in 1890, supplies were more accessible than in Tabasco, but fresh water was very scarce particularly during the dry season. The port at Celestún could be easily recognized by a small grove of cacao trees near the beach and extensively cultivated salt ponds until the lighthouse was established in 1880 and it could be visible at a distance of ten miles (Picking, 1890c; Rowlett, 2004). The port of Sisal, located thirty miles northwest also on the coast had a wooden pier of about twenty-five feet wide and 250 feet long, that allowed boats to land and unload easily (Picking, 1890c). On the west end of the pier there was a small fort with three guns and a lighthouse about 60 feet above sea level and it is visible for 12.5 miles that was established in 1852 (Picking, 1890c; Rowlett, 2004). The port of Sisal offered little water for drinking and little beef, but poultry was abundant and firewood could easily be attained (Picking, 1890c).



Map by Ryan Schuermann

Figure 2.5. Ports of Yucatán and Protestant Station in 1961

The port at Progreso was the largest of the ports in Yucatán and linked the state to the rest of the world. It was located about twenty miles west from Sisal. The pier was about one hundred yards long and a narrow-gauge railroad connected Progreso with the city of Mérida, the capital of Yucatán, about twenty miles away, and to the town of Ticul another twenty miles farther south (Picking, 1890c). At the port of Progreso, supplies were abundant, but fresh water was scarce (Picking, 1890c). From the port of Progreso, the state of Yucatán exported "hemp, hides, hair, deer-skins, logwood and mahogany" (Picking, 1890c. p. 60). "Five steam vessels call during a month, two from New York,

one from England, one from France, and one from Havana" (Picking, 1890c. 60). The light at the port of Progreso was established in 1893 and it was located next to the United States Custom's house[16]. The lighthouse was at an elevation of fifty-seven feet above high water and it was visible in good weather from a distance of twelve miles (Picking, 1890c; Rowlett, 2004).

State, foreign, and privately owned railroads in Yucatán were extensive even at the end of the 19th century. The first state owned steam railroad line linked the cities of Mérida, the capital, with the town of Peto, 144 kilometers (89.5 miles) to the southwest (Peñafiel, 1900). A second steam railroad line linked the capital with the town of Valladolid, 148 kilometers (92 miles) to the west (Peñafiel, 1900). A third steam line linked the capital with the town of Izamal, 65.85 kilometers to the west (Peñafiel, 1900). The fourth steam railroad linked the capital with the port at Progreso, 86.5 kilometers (53.7 miles) to the north (Peñafiel, 1900). In addition, 885 kilometers (549.9 miles) of animal powered and portable railroad lines of French design linked the *Haciendas* and *Salinas* (salt mines) with the most important cities in Yucatán (Peñafiel, 1900). The size of some of the privately own railroads provide not only a glimpse of the size of the *haciendas* and the economic development of the area, most importantly it will help identify the role that community organization had in the growth of Protestantism in Yucatán after the collapse of the henequen industry in the 1930s.

The Influence of Ports, Waterways, and Railroads on Religious Pluralism

Overall, seaports played an important role in the development of religious pluralism throughout the region by providing an opportunity for economic development

[16] Appendix 2.1 offers a complete list of lighthouses in the area, their reach in miles and the year they were established.

and by granting access to Protestant missionaries seeking new religious fields. Just as importantly, ports provided easy access to Protestant literature from the United States, Great Britain, and other parts of Europe. Even before missionaries arrived to establish mission stations, sea merchants, sea captains, and consular officers had been distributing Protestant literature sometimes, as the passage below suggest, at the request of people in Latin America, but very often Bibles, Scriptures and other literature was just left behind (Sinclair, 1999).

> "From 1841-1861 the distribution of 42,000 Scriptures was done at the request of visitors from Latin America, sometimes the requests were made by missionaries, others by merchants or people associated with the Seamen's Friend Society as well as Consular Offices" (Dwight, 1916 p. 218).

In 1887, Presbyterian Minister Dr. Greene found one household in San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), Tabasco had been "brought to Christ" when several years prior they had received a tract from an American sailor (*Annual Report to the Board of Foreing Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1887). Furthermore, it was to the port of Frontera (fig. 2.4) that the first Presbyterians arrived and when the Presbyterian congregation in San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) had collected enough funds to secure a place for the construction of their new Church

> "[t]he owner of a fruit company having several large boats carrying bananas between Tabasco and Galveston, very kindly offered to this congregation to bring any building materials for the chapel and manse from the United States, free of freight. This will be a help. There is a good evangelical element here"(*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922. 351).

Although ports offered reliable access to missionaries in Campeche and in Yucatán from the early 1850s, it was not until the 1920s that religious niches of

Protestantism formed at the ports of Ciudad del Carmen in Campeche and Progreso in Yucatán. Missionaries recognized the importance of the ports and requested support to open a more attractive center to fulfill the needs of the people of Yucatán as they write in their annual report in 1922:

> "*Progreso*. This town is unsightly and the first impression is that it is a place of little importance, but as a matter of fact, it is a place of great importance, and very much needs constant attention in pastoral work. Unfortunately, the little church building is on the very outskirts of the town. The importance of Progreso is in its being the chief port of the Yucatán Peninsula… If there was an attractive center, many people could be reached. In the hotter months of the year, many hundreds of Mérida's people visit the Port for sea bathing. Some of them are there for one, two or three months at a time. A social center with bright, cheery rest rooms. Good literature, and a piano would give excellent opportunity for reaching many people" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1922. 353)

During the early settlement period, Protestant missionaries following their missionary zeal settled first in areas they perceived had the highest spiritual and the most practical needs (Reid, 1952). Baptists and the Society of Friends settle in the northern states while Methodists and Presbyterians settle the occidental, central, and southern states (Dwight, 1916; *Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, 1910). The environmental conditions of Tabasco and its strong economic and political connection with the southern United States offered Protestant missionaries a *vacant religious field* in which religious pluralism could grow. By the end of the early settlement period, Presbyterian missionaries had established churches, schools, and clinics along the *Río Seco* in Paraíso , Comalcalco, Canduacán, and Cárdenas, and along the *Río Grijalva* in Frontera, San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), and followed the *Río Tacotalpa* to the town of Jalapa.

In the case of Yucatán, Presbyterian missionaries were present in the largest cities of the state, the capital Mérida and at the port of Progreso at the end of the 1910. By the

1920s, small congregations were found in the town of Motul to the northwest, and in Umán and Ticul to the south following the main railroads that connected the towns with the capital.

In the case of Campeche, however, Protestant efforts during the early settlement period were unsuccessful. Presbyterian ministers were received with indifference at best and violence at worst. Small congregations in Ciudad del Carmen and in Campeche closed shortly after being established. However, it was not until the 1940s that Presbyterians, Seventh-Day Adventists, Assemblies of God, and the Church of Christ were able to establish mission stations in the two main cities of the state: Campeche and Ciudad del Carmen.

Although, seaports in Campeche and Yucatan ensured the success of Roman Catholic evangelization during colonial times, seaports were not provide a similar experience to Protestant denominations until the 1920s in Yucatán and the 1930s in Campeche. However, in the case of Tabasco the seaport at Frontera ensured not only the economic development of the region, but it also served as the main entrance to Protestant denominations and ensured their success by allowing that strong cultural and economic ties were established with communities in southern United States.

HEALTH IN SOUTHERN MEXICO: 1880 – 1960

The harsh environmental conditions in southern Mexico contributed to the early differentiation of institutional spheres in Tabasco while strengthening the presence and influence of Roman Catholic organizations in Campeche and Yucatán. Poor health conditions further influenced population settlements in general and religious organizations in particular between 1880s and 1930s. Starting as early as the 1600s

Roman Catholic missionaries were forced to abandon their missions after outbreaks of yellow fever and other diseases that in many instances killed up to half of the population of the Yucatán peninsula and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (Perry & Perry, 1988).

Starting in the 1880s, Protestant missionaries following their missionary zeal provided, along with spiritual guidance, basic health care services in areas plagued with endemic diseases and other natural disasters. Baptists and Presbyterians established dispensaries and hospitals in several towns in northern and southern Mexico. By 1910, there were two dispensaries with their own physician under the Southern Baptist Foreign Missions. One dispensary was in the city of Guadalajara in the occidental states of Jalisco. The second dispensary was in Toluca, about thirty-five miles west of Mexico City (*Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, 1910 p. 217). In addition, a dispensary under the Presbyterian Church of the United States had been operating in Paraíso, Tabasco in 1920. Therefore, when an earthquake caused serious injuries and damages in the city of Xalapa, [in the state of Veracruz] Rev. Coffín, the Presbyterian Minister in Paraíso, was the first to arrive with medical supplies and assistance (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 52).

Poor Health Conditions Hindered and Facilitated Protestant Growth

In southern Mexico, endemic and chronic illness played an important role in the development of religious pluralism. First, poor health conditions and endemic illnesses created an incentive for protestant organizations to settle in areas that needed them the most following their missionary zeal. Second, Protestant organizations' ability to tie their evangelization efforts with providing health services solidified their presence in the communities they entered. Third and final, the inability of the state and other institutions

to provide social programs, in this case health care, that satisfy the needs of rural communities opened the field for Protestant organizations to grow in those communities.

Table 2.3. Total Mortality by Cause of Death in1903

Disease	Adult Mortality		Infant Mortality	
	Campeche	Tabasco	Campeche	Tabasco
Typhoid Fever	9	11	0	0
Malaria	398	882	111	143
Pertussis	122	127	73	43
Yellow Fever	9	116	0	0
Tuberculosis (TB)	201	85	9	9

Source:
Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956

Table 2.3 above shows some of the endemic diseases, including malaria[17], in Tabasco and Campeche in 1903. The most prevalent diseases at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th were malaria, dysentery, rheumatism, hepatitis, and tuberculosis. There were also several epidemics of cholera, yellow fever, and smallpox between 1880 and 1920 (*American Public Health Association 1892*, 1893). Although the state government tried to improve sanitary conditions and even opened one quarantine station in Campeche in 1893 their efforts were not enough to improve the health conditions in the region (*American Public Health Association 1892*, 1893).

Acute and chronic diseases claimed many lives and at times hindered the work of Protestant missionaries in the area. In 1893, Rev. Hubert W. Brown reported to the annual board meeting:

> "I cannot help dwelling first of all upon the loss the mission has suffered during the year in the absence of Dr. Greene on account of ill-health, especially as we

[17] In the sources referred as "*paludismo*."

> have just received the news of his resignation and permanent separation from the work. Whenever I think of the press and its most admirable outfit, and of our widely extended work, especially in Guerrero, Tabasco, and Yucatán, and when I remember [how] warm a place he holds in the hearts of our native ministers and converts, I recognize the grand work he did for the Master during the ten years of his active work in Mexico, and gladly pay him this tribute of grateful recognition, while I pray the Lord to still guide a prosper his work in the new hands into which it shall fall during the coming years" (*The Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1893, pp. 147-148).

Between 1896 and 1903 several epidemics of Tuberculosis (TB), small pox, malaria, whooping cough, typhoid fever, and yellow fever[18] devastated the states of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán ("Cholera, yellow fever, plague, and smallpox, December 28, 1900 to June 28, 1901," 1901). In 1890, an epidemic of small pox claimed the life of one American citizen in Motul (Yucatán), about twenty-five miles north east of the capital (Thompson, 1900). After state rules prohibited the return of the body to the United States, Mr. Thomson, United State Consul, advised that any visitor, including Protestant missionaries, coming from the United States to the port of Progreso (Yucatán) should consider postponing their travels (Thompson, 1900). In 1911, the American consul at Frontera reported an outbreak of smallpox in the capital, San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), and in the towns of Comalcalco, Canduacán, Jalapa, and Huimanguillo all of which had active Presbyterian Missions in 1911 ("Mexico: Yellow Fever," 1912). However, the United States Consul at Frontera did not issue a warning to travelers to the area.

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18 Yellow fever is a virus transmitted to humans by mosquitoes that affects primarily the liver and kidneys. In mild cases, it causes fever, headache, general body aches, nausea and vomiting, and fatigue. In severe cases, the virus can cause high fever, jaundice, bleeding, and severe organ damage leading to death (CDC, 2013). It was not until 1943 that the mosquito carrying yellow fever and dengue fever in urban areas was targeted for eradication ("Communicable Diseases in the Americas," 1967). However, in 1965 the mosquito reappeared in southern Mexico. Several efforts, particularly in the state of Tabasco were undertaken, and were successful once again by 1967 ("Communicable Diseases in the Americas," 1967).

Other causes of death in Mérida, Yucatán were due to respiratory and intestinal diseases, alcoholism, trauma, bacterial infections, such as meningitis, and complications at birth ("Mexico: Official Report of Mortality for Progreso, week ended June 14, 1903," 1903). An epidemic of *beriberi* (thiamine deficiency) recorded in the state of Yucatán between 1910 and 1915 was probably linked to the estimated 3,000 contract workers who arrived from East Asia, particularly China and Korea to address the shortage of labor (Knight, 1991; Meyers, 2005). This provided a first light into the role that migration had in the creation of religious pluralism in Yucatán in the 1920s.

Protestant Health Facilities and Medical Care: Fulfilling Spiritual and Medical Needs

Just as poor health conditions in the region endangered the wellbeing of missionaries, poor health conditions in the selected cases forced Protestant missionaries to increase their efforts:

> "[t]he Protestant Churches have raised over thirty-five hundred pesos (1,750 American Gold) for the relief of [those suffering] in the earthquake district in Vera Cruz and Puebla. This does not cover all of the Protestant gifts, however, as many gave through the local state authorities" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 54).

In 1883, there were 138 doctors in the country and 40 percent (fifty-six doctors) were in the state of Yucatán (table 2.4). The high percentage of doctors in Yucatán compared with the rest of the country highlight the level of economic development in the Yucatán peninsula at the end of the 19th century. Historical records from one of the earliest *haciendas* in Yucatán mentioned that medical care within the *haciendas* was provided by the *hacienda's* own doctor (Rejon-Patron, 1993).

Table 2.4. Number of Doctors by State in 1883

State	Doctors
Campeche	-
Tabasco	-
Yucatán	56
Mexico	138

Note: Number of doctors was not available for Campeche and Tabasco.

Source:
Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956

The 1895 Population census provided more information regarding the availability of medical care in southern Mexico. Table 2.5 shows that on average there were more doctors per persons in southern Mexico than there were in Mexico as a whole, however, Tabasco had the least number of doctors per 10,000 persons, 2.6 doctors, while Campeche had the highest number, 3.5 doctors per 10,000 persons.

Table 2.5. Doctors by State in 1895

State	Population (1)	Total Doctors (2)	Number of People per Doctor (2)	Doctors per 10,000 Persons
Campeche	89 001	31	2 871	3.48
Tabasco	135 869	35	3 882	2.58
Yucatán	300 331	90	3 337	3.00
Mexico	12 841 148	2 282	5 627	1.78

Sources:
(1) Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. DGE
(2) Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956

The number of doctors per person increased five years later for both Campeche and Yucatán while Tabasco experienced a small decline to 2.4 doctors per 10,000 persons. However, table 2.6 shows that when looking at the number of doctors per person in the main urban centers the difference between the three cases, Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán is minimal. In all three capitals, there were at least fourteen doctors per 10,000 people. The difference observed regarding the number of doctors per person then might be linked to the number of rural communities in each one of the cases[19]. Both Campeche and Yucatán had a much higher level of urbanization at the turn of the 20th century than Tabasco (Estadística, 1900). The difference observed could also be linked to community organization.

Table 2.6. Doctors by State in 1900

State	Capital	Population (1)	Total Doctors (2)	Number of People per Doctor (2)	Doctors per 10,000 Persons
Campeche		86 542	36	2 404	4.16
	Campeche	17 109	25	684	14.61
Tabasco		159 834	38	4 206	2.38
	San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa)	10 543	15	703	14.23
Yucatán		309 652	117	2 647	3.78
	Mérida	43 630	65	671	14.90
Mexico		13 607 259	2 626	5 182	1.93

Sources:
(1) Censo General de La República Mexicana 1900. DGE.
(2) Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956

In 1910, at the onset of the Mexican Revolution, the number of doctors per 10,000 people had declined in both Tabasco and Campeche, while the number of doctors per

[19] Appendix 3.1 offers detailed information on the number or rural and urban communities in the three selected cases, as well as the number and percentage of the population living in the communities.

10,000 people in Yucatán increased. In all three cases, Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán the number of doctors per 10,000 persons were considerably higher than the average for the country.

Table 2.7. Doctors by state in 1910

State	Population (1)	Total Doctors (2)	Number of People per Doctor (2)	Doctors per 10,000 Persons
Campeche	86 661	29	2 988	3.35
Tabasco	187 574	39	4 810	2.08
Yucatán	339 613	192	1 769	5.65
Mexico	15 160 369	3 021	5 018	1.99

Sources:
(1) Tercer Censo de Población de la República Mexicana 1910. DGE
(2) Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956

Table 2.8 below, shows not only the number of doctors per 10,000 persons in each one of the cases, but also the number of males and female doctors in each one of the cases. In 1921, there were 10.5 doctors in the state of Yucatán per 10,000 persons, while the states of Campeche and Tabasco had 7.9 and 6.9 doctors per 10,000 persons respectively (table 2.9). Regarding gender, the state of Campeche had the lowest percentage of female doctors at the second decade of the 20th century. The state of Yucatán had the highest percentage of female doctors, 22 percent, while in Tabasco 19 percent of doctors were women. All three cases were well below the national percentage, which in 1921 was 41 percent. Although the differences regarding number of doctors, doctors per 10,000 people and doctors in the capital were minimal, there was a considerable difference in who was providing health care in the selected States.

Table 2.8. Doctors by State in 1921

State	Population (1)	Total Male Doctors (2)	Total Female Doctors (2)	Total Doctors (2)	Number of People per Doctor (2)	Doctors per 10,000 Persons
Campeche	86 661	59	9	68	1 274	7.85
Tabasco	187 574	104	25	129	1 454	6.88
Yucatán	339 613	277	80	357	951	10.51
Mexico	12 841 148	6 296	3 918	9 614	1 336	7.49

Sources:
(1) Censo General de Habitantes 1921. DGE
(2) Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956

While in the states of Campeche and Yucatán, health care was in the hands of the state or reportedly, in the hands of *hacienda's* owners, in the state of Tabasco, healthcare was in the hands of Protestant missionaries, mostly Presbyterians. It was not until the sharp increase in population following the development of the oil industry in the 1940s and 1950s that the state began to invest in statewide health care programs. In 1920, a medical dispensary was attached to the Presbyterian Church in San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) and as the following passage from 1921, reports Protestant missionaries were planning to open two more in Tabasco, one in Veracruz, near the border with Tabasco, and two more in the bordering state of Chiapas.

> "Medical work is providing down here such an important part of the evangelistic program and so effective for the promotion of the work, that three more dispensaries are to be opened in Villahermosa, the capital of the state of Tabasco; Frontera, Tabasco, and in [Puerto] Mexico, State of [Veracruz], the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In the most distant part of the field, in the State of Chiapas, it is proposed to inaugurate medical dispensaries in the cities of Tapachula and Tuxtla Gutierrez" (*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922. 352).

As the work of Presbyterian missionaries in the area continued to grow, missionaries requested that more dispensaries were open in Tabasco:

> "[T]here are possibilities of medical work in Jalapa that will be a great help to the field in general. So far all that has been done has been by the missionary and by the native pastors working each in his own way, although the ground has been prepared for more serious work of the dispensary" (*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922. 350).

Similar to the experience of Methodists in central-occidental Mexico and Baptists in the northern frontier, in multiple occasions within a few years of establishing a mission station, Protestant missionaries, opened dispensaries, clinics, and hospitals (Reid, 1952). This trend continued even after the National Healthcare Program required medical students to serve in rural communities for at least six months prior to graduating. For example, in the 1950s, Seventh-day Adventists in Tabasco were managing two clinics, one in the town of Teapa (approximately thirty-two miles south of Villahermosa) and one in the town of Tacotalpa (about ten miles west of Teapa) (Johanson, 1955).

By 1965, in addition to the clinics and hospitals ran by the federal and state governments, there were four organizations managed by Protestant missionaries in the area of study. In the city of Campeche the United Presbyterian Church of the United States managed one clinic (Taylor & Coggins, 1961). In the state of Tabasco, the United Andean Indian Mission administered one clinic in the city of Comalcalco and the United Presbyterian Church of the United States offered healthcare services in their clinic in the city of Canduacán (Taylor & Coggins, 1961). Finally, the United Andean Indian Missions ran the hospital in Xocenpich, Yucatán approximately 70 miles southeast of the capital, Mérida (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Table 2.9. Male and Female Doctors by State in 1960

States	Doctors		Male Doctors		Female Doctors		
	Total	Doctors per 10,000 Persons	Total	Doctors per 10,000 Males in Population	Female Doctors	Female Doctors per 10,000 Females in Population	Percent of Female Doctors
Campeche	34	2.02	32	3.75	2	2.35	5.88
Tabasco	19	0.38	15	0.60	4	1.59	21.05
Yucatán	163	2.65	134	4.30	29	9.31	17.79
Mexico	12 755	3.65	10 260	5.89	2 495	1.43	19.56

Source:
DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.

As shown in table 2.9 above, in 1960 there was less than one doctor per 10,000 persons Tabasco (Estadística, 1960). There were only nineteen doctors registered in the 1960 census, fifteen males and four females to take care of almost 500,000 thousand people in the state of Tabasco, while in Yucatán there were 163 doctors, 134 males and twenty-nine females to care for slightly more than 600,000 people (Estadística, 1960). In Campeche and Yucatán, there were two and 2.7 doctors per 10,000 persons respectively (Estadística, 1960).

Table 2.10 shows the availability of health care facilities continued to accentuate the health differences across the three cases at the end of the period of study. By 1965, Yucatán ranked fourth among the number of doctors per person in the country, while Campeche occupy the thirteenth place, and Tabasco ranked twentieth out of thirty-one states (Michael E. Bonine et al., 1970). In 1960, there were only 1.8 facilities per 10,000 square kilometers in Campeche, while there were 7.5 in Tabasco and 9.6 in Yucatán (Estadística, 1960). Yucatán had also a high number of employees, an average of 18.2 per

facility, there were only 4.3 employees per facility in Tabasco, and 1.5 in Campeche (Estadística, 1960).

Table 2.10. Medical and Social Services by State in 1965

State	Medical and Social Services				
	Number of Services	Number of Facilities per 10,000 Square Kilometers	Percent	Number of Employees	Percent
Campeche	9	1.77	0.53	14	0.07
Tabasco	19	7.50	1.11	81	0.41
Yucatán	37	9.61	2.17	672	3.42
Mexico	1 707	N/A	100.00	19 666	100.00

Source:
Bonine, Micheal et. al. 1970

Average infant mortality rates between 1922 and 1936 in the state of Tabasco were the lowest in the country, 70.6, while in the state of Yucatán the average were 237.2 and in the state of Campeche 112.01 (Bustamante., 1940). There was also a difference regarding the availability of medical and social services in the three cases. By 1960 infant mortality rates had declined considerably in all three cases mostly due to the increase in prenatal and maternity care programs established in the 1930s (Bustamante & Ramos., 1939). However, even by 1937 malaria continue to be the third cause of death in Mexico at a rate of 134.7 per 100,000 people and the first cause of morbidity at a rate of 673 per 100,000 population (Bustamante., 1940). Finally, table 2.11 shows that, while there was a small difference regarding birth rates in all three cases, the mortality rate of Yucatán was higher than the mortality rate in Campeche and Tabasco (Bustamante., 1940) .

Table 2.11. Birth Rate, Mortality Rate, and Infant Mortality Rates by State in 1960

State	Birth Rate [a]	Mortality Rate [b]	Infant Mortality Rate [c]
Campeche	48.00	10.00	56.7
Tabasco	47.00	9.90	57.9
Yucatán	45.90	12.10	67.6
Mexico	46.00	11.50	74.2

Source:
Bonine, Micheal et. al. 1970

[a] Births per 1,000 Persons
[b] Deaths per 1,000 Persons
[c] Death per 1,000 Births

The improvement in the public health of southern Mexico observed was linked to the National University establishing a program in the 1930s that required all medical students to serve six months in a rural community lacking medical services prior to their graduation. At the end of their internship, medical students had to provide a report describing not only the geographic, economic, and pathological situation of the community, but also any cultural practice that influenced the health outcomes of the community (Bustamante., 1940). This requirement provided many rural communities with basic medical care as well as with the opportunity to break the cultural expectations of young doctors to remain in the larger cities as some returned to practice in the communities where they served their internship (Bustamante., 1940). According to the 1930 census, there was one doctor per six thousand people in Tabasco, one per two thousand people in Campeche, and one doctor per thousand people in Yucatán (Bustamante., 1940).

Interestingly, the medical programs developed by the National University contributed to the development of religious pluralism in the 1960s and 1970s. Since the

National University was unable to provide enough social programs to satisfy the needs of isolated rural and indigenous communities, Protestant missionaries were highly encouraged by the state to provide medical care and other social programs. Particularly in areas with a high percentage of indigenous populations both in southern and northern Mexico, Protestant missionaries were the only source of health care and other social programs (see O'Connor, 1979; Tuner, 1979).

SUMMARY

Mexico's environmental diversity together with its historical background produced great cultural diversity within broad religious homogeneity, however starting in the 1880s and through the 1960s, religious pluralism began to take place particularly in southern Mexico. In the case of Tabasco the lack of an environment suitable to extensive agriculture and ranching hindered not only the economic prospects but also limited the interests of earlier colonial efforts as well as the presence of the Roman Catholic Church creating a *vacuum* where religious pluralism could take place (fig. 2.6). For example, the seaport at Frontera tied with the extensive river transportation open the state to Protestant missionaries as early as 1880 allowing them to establish churches and to provide for the health needs within the communities where they settle.

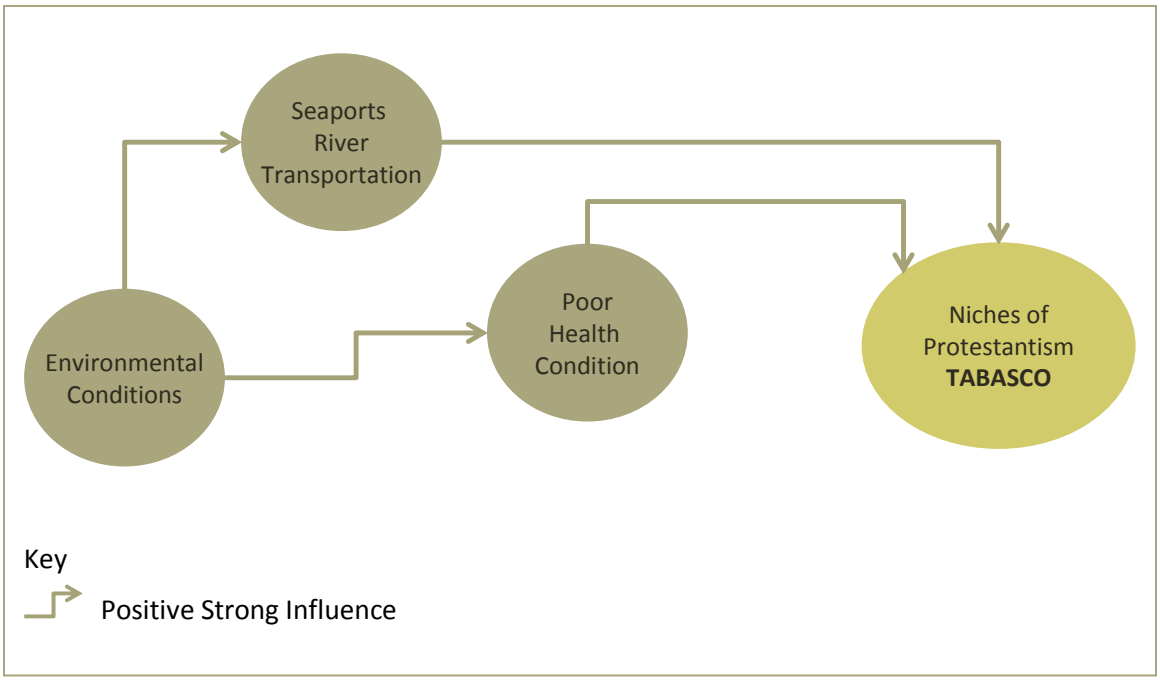

Figure 2.6. Model of Environmental Characteristics Influencing the Creation of Niches of Protestantism in Tabasco

The strong economic and political connection to international ports, particularly to the ports of New Orleans and Galveston in the United States, ensured that Protestant missionaries maintained strong ties with co-religionists abroad and were able and ready to respond to the spiritual and more practical needs of their members and ministers (Picking, 1890a). It was to the port at Frontera that missionaries arrive to Tabasco and from there advanced to other regions of Campeche and Yucatán (Church, 1891). In the case of Tabasco, the harsh environment contributed to the creation of a *vacant religious space* where Protestant missionaries were able to enter and fulfill the spiritual needs of the communities.

In the cases of Campeche and Yucatán, the following chapters will explore how an environment suitable to extensive agricultural and ranching practices allowed for the early economic development of the region as well as for the strong and early presence of

Roman Catholic organizations and limited the growth of niches of Protestantism. Although, seaports offered early access to Protestant missionaries from other regions of Mexico and from abroad and railroads were extensive in Yucatán Protestant organizations were not able to enter the religious market place until 1920s. In the case of Campeche and Yucatán, environmental characteristics contributed to the creation of a strong Roman Catholic religious field that limited the ability of other religious organizations to settle and thrive until social and cultural changes restructured the power of the Roman Catholic Church in the 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore, this dissertation seeks to address in the following chapter the first research question and analyze to what extent the differences observed between the three cases religious diversity are linked to population characteristics, to the types of community organization, to the strength of the Roman Catholic Church and to political limitations.

Chapter Three

Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics

Environmental characteristics are only one aspect that can shed light into why religious pluralism occurred in Southern Mexico. This chapter will discuss how socioeconomic and demographic characteristics influenced the creation of religious pluralism in the selected cases (fig 3.1). Particularly this chapter will analyze the influence that environmental conditions had in the settlement of ethnic groups and the type of community economic development that occurred in the three cases. This chapter will analyze how ethnicity and community organization influenced the institutional strength of the Roman Catholic Church and how that in turn hindered or encouraged the development of religious diversity. This chapter will finally look at the role that women had in the creation of niches of Protestantism and how the success of protestant denominations was linked to their ability to provide social services in a differentiated institutional environment at different historical points.

In the case of Tabasco, individuals were able to interact within different social circles without missing out in the distribution of resources. While in the cases of Campeche and Yucatán Roman Catholic rituals and traditions permeated all social, cultural, and economic structures limiting the growth of Protestantism until economic and social changes took place in Yucatán in 1920s and in Campeche in the 1940s. It is likely that the incredible size of the *haciendas* in Yucatán and Campeche, as well as the differences in community organization, might have hindered the development of religious pluralism until the first half of the 20th century when economic and community change began to take place.

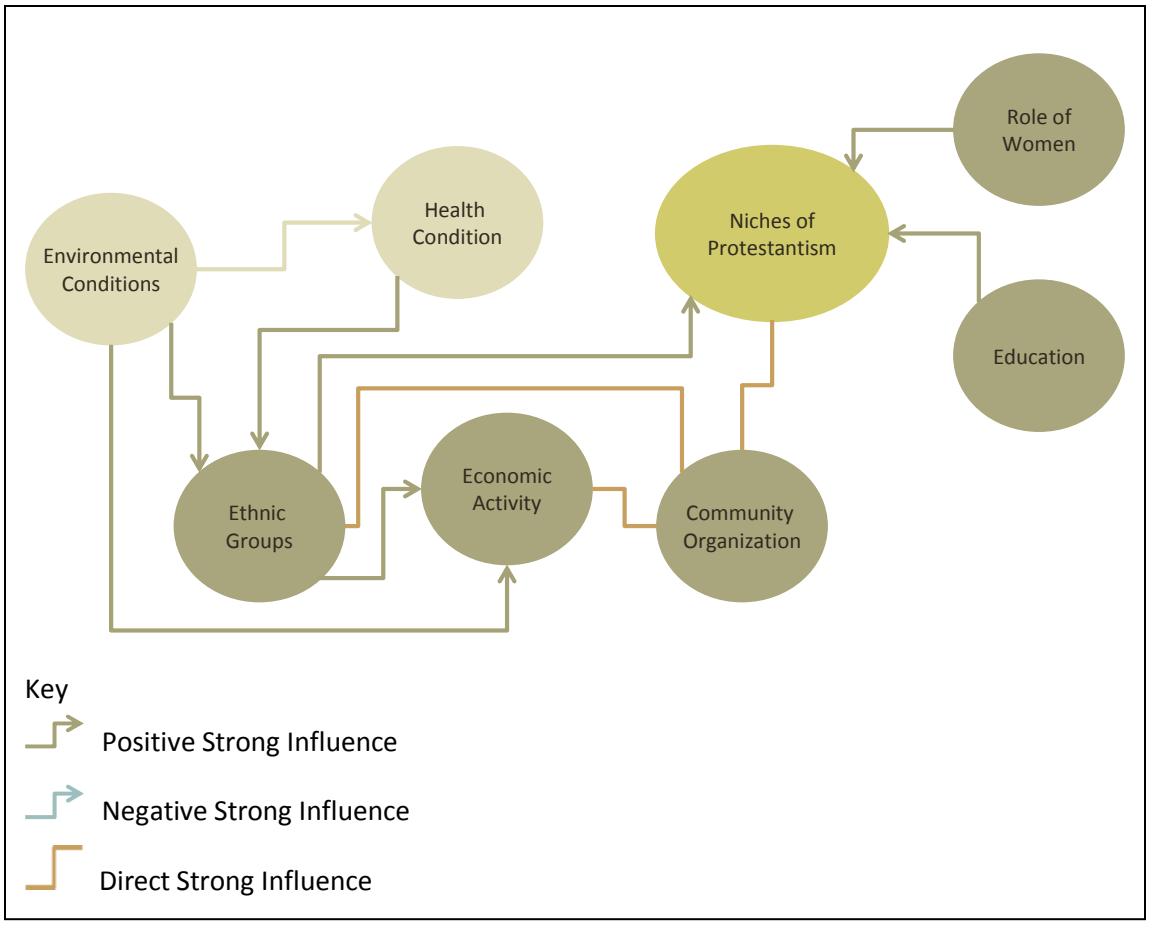

Figure 3.1. Model of Population Characteristics that Influence Niches of Protestantism in Southern Mexico

POPULATION AND RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

The following section analyzes how some demographic characteristics of the selected cases influenced first the arrival and settlement of Protestant missionaries and secondly facilitated the growth of religious pluralism at different key periods in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán. Demographic characteristics, such as total population and population density, follow a similar pattern of growth. Other characteristics such as ethnic composition, migration, sex ratio, and community organization patterns varied

considerably across the three selected cases and across the periods analyzed in this dissertation[20].

Population during the Early Settlement Period: 1880-1910

Table 3.1 shows the total population during the first period of interest between 1880 when the first Protestants missionaries arrived from the United States to 1910 when the Mexican Revolution forced many missionaries to return home. During this period, Campeche had the lowest total population of the three cases and the population and population density stayed stable. Campeche had also the highest percentage of the population living in its capital (19.8 percent). The population of Tabasco, however, grew steadily and by 1910, there were seven people per square kilometer, two more than in 1895 although only 6.6 percent of the population resided in the capital city in 1900. Furthermore, Tabasco was the most rural of all the three selected cases[21].

Yucatán was the state with the largest population of the three selected cases and its population increased consistently during the first period of interest. The population density was misleading in Yucatán until 1902 when the sparsely populated territory of Quintana Roo was created and by 1910, the population density of 8.2 people per square kilometer was more representative of how population was distributed in the state. In Yucatán, 14.1 percent of the population resided in the capital city of Mérida. (Estadística, 1910; Peñafiel, 1900).

[20] Appendix 3.2 provides a more detailed demographic background of the three selected cases.
[21] Appendix 3.1 offers further information on the number or rural and urban communities in the three selected cases, as well as the number and percentage of the population living in those communities.

Table 3.1. Population, Population Density, and Percentage of People Living in the Capital in 1895, 1900, and 1910

State	Capital	1895 Population		1900 Population		1910 Population	
		Total (1)	Density	Total (2)	Density	Total (3)	Density
Campeche		89 001	1.9	86 542	1.9	86 661	1.9
	Campeche	-	-	17 109	-	-	-
Tabasco		135 869	5.0	159 834	6.0	187 574	7.0
	San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa)	-	-	10 543	-	12 327	-
Yucatán		300 331	3.3	309 652	3.4	339 613	8.2
	Mérida	-	-	43 630	-	62 447	-
Mexico		12 841 148	6.4	13 607 259	6.8	15 160 369	7.6

Sources:
(1) DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1985.
(2) DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1990.
(3) DEG. Tercer Censo Población de la República Mexicana 1910.

Population during the Religious and Political Turmoil Period: 1910-1940

The Mexican Revolution of 1910, the political instability that followed the armed conflict between the federal government and the Roman Catholic Church in the 1920s, as well as the social and economic changes brought up by the Land and Education Reforms in the 1930s produced considerable changes in the population characteristics of southern Mexico. Table 3.2 shows that, on the one hand, the population of Campeche declined during the Revolution and slowly increased during the next two decades, the percentage of population living in the capital Campeche increased from 22.13 percent in 1930 to 25.73 percent by 1940 (Estadística, 1921, 1930, 1940).

On the other hand, the population of Tabasco grew steadily even during the Mexican Revolution, due first to federal and state policies that provided money to purchase farming equipment in exchange for settling in the state (*Estadísticas Sociales*

del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956). Second, after the 1914 State Constitution, *peones*[22] who entered the state were pardoned of all indebtedness they owed to the *hacienda's tienda de*

Table 3.2. Population, Population Density, and Percent of People Living in the Capital 1921-1940 continuation

State Capital	Population		
	1921		
	Total (1)	Percent Living in Capital (1)	Density (1)
Campeche	76 419	-	1.49
Campeche	16 913	22.13	-
Tabasco	210 437	-	8.30
Villahermosa	15 819	7.52	-
Yucatán	358 221	-	9.30
Mérida	79 225	22.12	-
Mexico	14 334 780	-	7.27
	1930		
	Total (2)	Percent Living in Capital (1)	Density (2)
Campeche	84 630	-	1.66
Campeche	-	-	-
Tabasco	224 023	-	8.84
Villahermosa	-	-	-
Yucatán	386 096	-	10.03
Mérida	-	-	-
Mexico	16 552 722	-	8.41
	1940		
	Total (3)	Percent Living in Capital (3)	Density (3)
Campeche	90 460	-	1.78
Campeche	23 277	25.73	-
Tabasco	285 630	-	11.27
Villahermosa	25 114	8.79	-
Yucatán	418 210	-	10.86
Mérida	98 852	23.64	-
Mexico	19 653 552	-	9.98

Sources:
(1) Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. DGE.
(2) Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. DEN.
(3) Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. DGE.

[22] *Peones* are involuntary laborers having little control over their employment conditions who worked to paid off an alleged debt.

raya[23] *(Constitución Política del Estado de Tabasco, 1914)*. Third and final, to the economic development brought up by the growth of the tropical fruit companies on the coast and in the tropical forest bordering with the state of Chiapas. By 1940, the total population of Tabasco was 285,630 and the population density was over eleven people per square kilometer, but only 11.27 percent of people resided in the capital (Estadística, 1940).

Similarly, the population of Yucatán increased considerably during the period of political and religious turmoil, mostly due to the increase in the henequen industry and its need for labor. By 1940, the total population of Yucatán was 418,210 people with twenty-four percent living in the capital city of Mérida and the population density had increased to more than ten people per square kilometer (Estadística, 1940).

Population during the Religious Revival Period: 1940-1960

The period of economic and social change that followed the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the state also brought changes in population and population density. Table 3.3 shows the changes in population taking place during the religious revival observed between 1940 and 1960. During the two decades, the population of Campeche continued to grow steadily however Campeche continued to be the state with the lowest population and population density of the three selected cases (only 3.3 people per square kilometer in 1960) (Estadística, 1960). Due to the growth of the petroleum industry in the region, the population of Tabasco grew considerably between 1950 and 1960. By 1960, the population density of Tabasco was almost twenty people per square

[23] The *Tienda de Raya* was a store run by each hacienda in which *peones* and other workers received payment for their work. In most cases, the pay was in kind and for many workers, weekly earnings were never enough to pay for what they needed, therefore creating a never ending debt to the *hacienda*.

kilometer and its population almost reached 500,000 people (Estadística, 1960). Similarly, the population of Yucatán increased during the last two decades of interest surpassing 500,000 inhabitants in 1950 and over 600,000 in 1960 with almost sixteen people per square kilometer in 1960 (Estadística, 1950, 1960).

Table 3.3. Population and Population Density 1950 and 1960

State	Population			
	1950		1960	
	Total (1)	Density (1)	Total (2)	Density (2)
Campeche	122 098	2.40	168 219	3.30
Tabasco	362 716	14.32	496 340	19.59
Yucatán	516 899	13.42	614 049	15.95
Mexico	25 791 017	13.10	34 923 129	17.73

Sources:
(1) DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos.
(2) DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.

ETHNICITY AND MIGRATION

Ethnicity: Two Paths to Religious Pluralism

Resent research has found a strong and persistent connection between the presence and growth of Protestantism in Mexico and the ethnic composition of municipalities and communities in Mexico since the 1970s (see M. G. Davis, 2009; Dow, 2005; Garma Navarro, 2011; Garma Navarro & Leatham, 2004; Nutini, 2000; Trejo, 2009). However, the early Protestant settlement patterns in southern Mexico followed a different pathway from those found in Mexico since the 1970s. The following section analyzes the role that ethnicity and internal and external migration played in the creation of niches of Protestantism in the selected cases and seeks to answer the second posited

research question: Why protestant groups settle first in areas of low-ethnic composition and why settlement patterns changed.

Ethnic composition varied considerably between the states of Tabasco and the states of Campeche and Yucatán. Table 3.4 shows that in 1895, Yucatán was the state with the highest percentage of indigenous population (seventy percent) (Estadística, 1895). In the same year, Campeche occupied the second place with forty percent of its population speaking an indigenous language habitually (Estadística, 1895). While, less than eight percent of inhabitants in Tabasco spoke an indigenous language (Estadística, 1895).

Table 3.4. Total and Percent of Population by Language Spoken in 1895

States	Spanish Only					
	Males	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Campeche	23 845	56.0	25 840	55.5	49 685	55.8
Tabasco	67 253	92.3	65 549	92.3	132 802	92.3
Yucatán	43 359	29.5	45 841	30.0	89 200	29.7
Mexico	5 391 703	84.3	5 366 450	83.6	10 758 153	84.0
	Ethnic Language					
	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Campeche	18 706	44.0	20 725	44.5	39 431	44.2
Tabasco	5 572	7.6	5 425	7.6	10 997	7.6
Yucatán	103 603	70.5	107 072	70.0	210 675	70.3
Mexico	1 001 835	15.7	1 050 021	16.4	2 051 856	16.0

Sources:
DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos.

In addition to the differences found in the percentage of people who spoke an indigenous language, the diversity of indigenous languages spoken in the three selected cases was considerable. Table 3.5 shows that in Campeche and Yucatán the dominant

indigenous language spoken was Yucatecan (a Maya dialect). On the contrary, in the state of Tabasco, while over 90 percent of the population spoke Spanish by 1895 several indigenous languages from different linguistic roots and geographic locations were present. The dominant indigenous language was Chontal of Tabasco, with two small enclaves of Nahualt speakers from central Mexico in Frontera and in the border with Veracruz and small enclaves of Zoque in the border with Chiapas (Bonine, Holz, Gill, Weiler, & Arbingast, 1970; Estadística, 1895)

Table 3.5. Ethnic Languages Spoken in the Three Cases in 1895

State	Language	Males	Females	Total
Campeche	Maya	18 467	20 635	39 102
	Huaxteco	17	14	31
	Nahualt	7	2	9
	Tlapaneco	3	0	3
	Otomi	1	0	1
Tabasco	Chontal	4 062	4 318	8 380
	Zoque	504	554	1 058
	Nahualt	112	109	221
	Tzendal	38	39	77
	Maya	7	5	12
	Chol	3	1	4
Yucatán	Maya	102 967	106 632	209 599

Source:
DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos.

Ethnographies conducted among indigenous groups in Mexico regarding conversion in the late 1950s and through the 1970s have found two key contextual factors that contributed to the development of religious pluralism in indigenous communities. The first contextual factor associated with the presence of Protestant groups in Mexico was the ability of Protestant groups to translate the Bible to indigenous languages (see

O'Connor 1979 and Turner 1979). A second factor to the successful establishment of Protestant missions was the ability of the minister to build strong ties and to identify with the members of the communities they entered (Finke & Stark, 1989). Regarding the first factor, the availability of Protestant religious materials in Mexico, the American Bible Society was established in 1878 and by 1906, they reported to have in circulation 26,474 volumes of the Bible, most of them only in Spanish (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907). Although, it is unclear at this point, how much a Bible published by the American Bible Society would cost during that time, the first edition of the Roman Catholic Bible published in Mexico in 1833 cost $200 pesos a price beyond access for the majority of people (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907). Furthering the inaccessibility was the fact that the Bible was published in Latin and it contained twenty-five volumes (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907).

The lack of ethnic groups in Tabasco influenced the late arrival and low presence of Roman Catholic institutions in the region. During the colonial period in Mexico, the Roman Catholic Church followed colonial efforts in order to convert the indigenous population and to monitor the relationships between colonizers and in indigenous peoples. This also hindered the development of extensive *cargo systems*[24] or other catholic-economic-political systems of community organization and left a *vacuum* in the religious field. Furthermore, since the majority of people in Tabasco spoke Spanish, Protestant missionaries did not have to wait until a translation of the Bible and other religious literature was available to aid in their missionary efforts as it was necessary in the case of Campeche and Yucatán. For example, in 1906, Senor Magaña and agent with

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[24] The *cargo system* is a civil-religious hierarchy in which men hold civil and religious positions (*cargos)* linked to Roman Catholic religious festivities and that provide the individual holding the cargos with power and prestige in their community.

the American Bible Society working in Tabasco successfully sold religious books at several towns and *haciendas* bordering his hometown of Jalapa, Tabasco and was sure that he would be able to "sell more during future visits" (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907. p. 58).

On the contrary, in Yucatán and Campeche, the large presence of indigenous population who only spoke Yucatecan Maya hindered the presence and growth of religious pluralism beyond the most urban settlements, such as the port of Progreso and in the city of Mérida, until a Protestant minister fluent in Yucatecan Maya was available. Mr. Fernandez, a colporteur of the American Bible Society arrived to Yucatán in 1885 and while he endured "bitter persecution," he was able to establish a small station in Mérida (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886. p. 31). The following year, Rev. Greene from the Mexican Southern Presbyterian Church was invited to visit and hold several services (in Spanish) and for the first time Presbyterians were successful in establishing a small congregation in Mérida (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886).

The same year, Rev. Procopio C. Diaz, who was previously in charge of the extremely successful mission of the Presbyterian Church in Paraíso , Tabasco, was called to organized the first Presbyterian church in Mérida (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. p. 31). Two years later in 1887, the annual report of the Presbyterian Church in the United States stated:

> "[t]he services continue with increasing attention and interest, under the care of Rev. Procopio C. Diaz, and there is abundant reason to believe that a broad and deep foundation has been laid in that city on which to build a strong and enduring

church" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. 31).

The change in leadership left Mr. Fernandez available to work in "the interior towns and villages of Yucatán, as an agent of the American Bible Society" for which he was much better qualified (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. p. 30). Mr. Fernandez was selected to work in the field because he spoke Maya and that was a great advantage for " carrying the truth to the Indian population" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. 31). In 1906, Mr. Herrera took over the church in Mérida and although he was able to maintain the organized church in Mérida, he was not able to enter the religious market of Campeche and several of his attempts ended with violence (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907).

At the onset of the Mexican Revolution, the percentage of people who spoke and indigenous language declined in all three cases. In Tabasco, only 6.4 percent of the population spoke an indigenous language habitually, while in Campeche 32.6 percent of the population did an in Yucatán almost 60 percent of the population spoke an indigenous language (table 3.6). In all three cases there is no gender difference linked to ethnic identity (Estadística, 1910).

According to the 1930 Mexican Population Census (table 3.7), only two percent of the population five-years and older spoke only an indigenous language in Tabasco, while twenty-two percent of people in Campeche only spoke an indigenous language and Yucatán continued to have the highest percentage of the population who only spoke an indigenous language, almost one third. At the start of the religious revival period, approximately eight percent of the population in Tabasco was bilingual compared with

twenty-one percent in Campeche and thirty-eight percent in Yucatán. In Tabasco, almost ninety percent of the population spoke only Spanish while in the case of Campeche only fifty percent of the population had been completely assimilated and in the state of Yucatán it was only slightly above twenty-five percent (Estadística, 1930).

Table 3.6. Total and Percentage of Population by Language by State in 1910

States	Spanish Language					
	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Campeche	29 457	66.8	28 404	66.7	57 861	66.8
Tabasco	86 583	93.6	88 879	93.5	175 462	93.5
Yucatán	67 597	40.2	69 600	40.6	137 197	40.4
Mexico	6 505 809	86.7	6 637 563	86.7	13 143 372	86.7
	Indigenous Languages					
	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Campeche	14 196	32.2	14 084	33.1	28 280	32.6
Tabasco	5 830	6.3	6 126	6.4	11 956	6.4
Yucatán	98 567	58.7	101 616	59.2	200 183	58.9
Mexico	956 205	12.7	1 004 101	13.1	1 960 306	12.9
	Foreign Languages					
	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Campeche	422	1.0	98	0.23	520	0.6
Tabasco	129	0.1	27	0.03	156	0.1
Yucatán	1 861	1.1	372	0.22	2 233	0.7
Mexico	42 457	0.6	14 234	0.19	56 691	0.4

Source:
DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos.

The ethnic composition of the three selected cases varied considerably and influenced the Protestant settlement patterns observed particularly during the early settlement period. Since in Tabasco there was a very small percentage of people who spoke an indigenous language, Protestant missionaries did not have to wait until Protestant religious materials were available in an indigenous language and ministers who only spoke Spanish were able to enter even the most rural communities. In the case

Table 3.7. Population 5-years and Older according to Language Spoken in 1930

States	Total Population	Spanish Only	Percentage
Campeche	71 757	40 030	55.8
Tabasco	182 259	163 541	89.7
Yucatán	335 441	90 098	26.9
Mexico	14 020 352	11 624 437	82.9
		Indigenous Languages Only	Percentage
Campeche		16 233	22.6
Tabasco		3 921	2.2
Yucatán		113 179	33.7
Mexico		1 185 162	8.5
		Spanish and One of More Indigenous Languages	Percentage
Campeche		15 091	21.0
Tabasco		14 412	7.9
Yucatán		129 119	38.5
Mexico		1 068 012	7.6
		Spanish and One or More Foreign Languages	Percentage
Campeche		403	0.6
Tabasco		385	0.2
Yucatán		3 005	0.9
Mexico		144 829	1.0

Note: Numbers do not include deaf individuals and totals do not include one individual who only spoke a foreign Language in Campeche, one in Tabasco, four in Yucatán, and 8,223 in México.
Source:
DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos.

of Yucatán, during the early period of settlement, missionaries were only able to settle in the larger communities, where people were more likely to have been assimilated into the Spanish culture and it was necessary for missionaries to learn Yucatecan Maya before they were able to take their religious message into rural communities. Finally, religious pluralism in Campeche followed a pattern similar to that found in rural and ethnic communities in other parts of Mexico after the 1960s and it was linked to changes in

community organization and changes in the religious message of different Protestant denominations entering the religious field.

Migration: The Advance of Protestantism

Another aspect that contributed to the development of niches of religious pluralism in southern Mexico was migration. In general, Mexico was not a target for large number of Protestant missionaries until the 19th century. The first groups to arrive were the Quakers and Northern Baptists, followed by Northern Presbyterians, Congregationalists, the Northern and Southern Methodists, and by the Southern Presbyterians (Bowen, 1996). Since the 1830s, Mexico provided civil guaranties to foreign Protestants entering the country to reside, to trade, and guarantee their right to establish their own churches in the communities they created (Penyak & Petry, 2006).

By the end of the 19th century there were thirteen Baptist Churches in northern Mexico composed mostly of immigrants from Texas (Merriam, 1900) and a Congregational mission of immigrants from South Africa that no longer wanted to maintain ties with the Reform Dutch Church (*Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1904d). Small groups of Mormons settled in the northern state of Chihuahua between 1885 and 1900 and small groups of Mennonites from Canada settled in the northern state of Chihuahua in the 1920s and expanded in the 1940s to the states of Durango and San Luis Potosi (Sawatzki, 1971). The Disciples of Christ, Seventh-Day Adventists, and other groups belonging to the Holiness movement began entering the northern states during the Mexican Revolution in 1910 and established congregations in southern Mexico starting in the 1930s (Bowen, 1996).

It was not only in northern Mexico where foreign immigrants contributed to the settlement and expansion of Protestant missions. During the Porfiriato (1876-1910), a shortage of labor in Yucatán and Campeche was solved by contract workers from East Asia, mostly from China and from Korea (Knight, 1991). It is estimated that about 3,000 men from East Asia arrived in Yucatán and Campeche between the 1900 and the 1910 census. In 1915, the Korean version of the New Testament was finally finish and sent to press (Dwight, 1916). One year later members of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea, began to emigrate as laborers to "Hawaii, Western Mexico, California, and even Yucatán" (Dwight, 1916. 485) and by 1921 there was in the city of Mérida a "a self-sustaining congregation of Koreans. They [called] upon the missionary for special services, paying all his expenses" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921. 319). Immigrants from other countries played an important role in creating an environment in which religious pluralism could exist. For example, according to missionary records of the Presbyterian Church the first agent of the American Bible Society was invited to visit Tabasco by a German landowner who was seeking to buy Bibles and other religious literature for his workers (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887).

In addition to Protestant missionaries and workers from the United States the migration patterns of local ministers, also influence the growth of niches of Protestantism. Between 1884 and 1922, there were forty-two Mexican ordained Presbyterian ministers working in Mexico City and in the states of Guerrero, Hidalgo, Estado de México, Veracruz, Michoacán, Tabasco, and Yucatán along with twenty ordained ministers from the United States and at least thirty teachers. However, most Protestant missions in Mexico were in the hands of local ministers while most ordained ministers from the United States resided in Mexico City and visited the missions every

couple of years. Dr. Greene reported that after a long tour of the southern missions in Tabasco, Yucatán, and Guerrero in 1886:

> "[M]any congregations owed their existence, and hundreds of brethren their conversion, to the labors of those who, but for the Acapulco massacre [in 1875][25], would no doubt have remained in that city until the present time" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. p. 28).

One of the most successful Presbyterian missionaries in southern Mexico was Rev. Procopio C. Diaz whom, after surviving the attack to the Presbyterian Church in Acapulco, fled to Tabasco to establish the Presbyterian Church in Paraíso, Tabasco and later the Presbyterian Church in Mérida, Yucatán.

Although migration helped create religious plurality, the high levels of migration also made reporting accurate rates of conversion more complex. The annual report to the Presbyterian Board highlights the problem:

> "[S]till another cause of great embarrassment and confusion in making reports lies in the fact that the poor populations who labor upon the ranches are constantly [moved] from one place to another, wherever they can secure employment. In some instances as many as ten removals have been made during a single year" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. 31).

In 1921, after the Mexican Revolution both Campeche and Tabasco saw over 2,000 and 4,500 people immigrate to other states respectively, while the state of Yucatán received

[25] In January of 1875, Acapulco residents, instigated by the local Roman Catholic priest, attacked the Presbyterian congregation during the evening services. Tensions had been growing between the members of the Presbyterian Church and the local priest to the point that the state government had ask him to stop inciting his flock or be fined under the new Reform Laws. However, tensions did not diminish and on January 26, local residents attacked the congregation. Five members of the congregation were killed during the attack and ten were seriously injured, among them was Mr. Procopio Diaz who would later become one of the most influential Protestant ministers in Tabasco and Yucatán ("The Acapulco Massacre: The Protestant Church Attacked by Band of Cahtolic Zealots.," 1875).

over 9,200 people (table 3.8). Many of the people leaving the state of Tabasco went to Yucatán looking for work in the henequen industry since bad weather and several crop diseases had crippled the fruit industry in Tabasco (Martinez-Assad, 2006).

Table 3.8. Total of People Born in the State Compared with Total Population Residing in the State in 1921

States	Total Number of People Born in the State	Total Number of People Residing	Total Number of People Who Emigrated to Other State	Total Number of People who Migrated to the state
Campeche	78 850	76 419	2 431	-
Tabasco	214 993	210 437	4 556	-
Yucatán	348 956	358 221	-	9 265
Mexico	14 334 780	14 334 780	-	-

Note: Information on the number of people who emigrated from other state is not available for the State of Yucatan. Information on the number of people who migrated to the states of Campeche and Tabasco is not available.
Source:
Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. DGE.

Migration played an important, and at times unexpected, role in the creation of religious pluralism in Mexico. During the early period of settlement, Protestant missionaries from the United States arrived in Mexico driven by their missionary zeal and settled in areas where they perceived the spiritual and practical needs where paramount. In several occasions, a single Protestant immigrant was responsible for the creation of niches of Protestantism while in others new Protestant communities were responsible for the creation of religious pluralism. However, ethnicity and migration only provide a partial picture of the mechanism behind the development of religious pluralism in southern Mexico and of the differences observed between the three selected cases.

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN: 1880-1922

A third potential explanations for the differences observed in the settlement patterns of Protestant missionaries was the influence that women had in the religious field. While the next section analyzes how women were able to influence the creation of religious pluralism in the selected cases[26]. Research over the last twenty years or so has found that women tend to have higher levels of religiosity, particularly personal piety, compared to men (Sullins, 2006). Furthermore, when a distinction is made between personal piety and practice, research has found that among Protestant groups women tend to have higher levels of active participation in church organization compared to men and compared to women in more patriarchal religions such as Orthodox Judaism and Islam (Anne M. Hallum, 2003; Sullins, 2006). Much of the missionary work in Mexico was directly and indirectly in the hands of women. In many instances, the initial and continuing introduction to Protestantism was directly in the hands of women. In the northern field, missionaries report that "a new field opened by a faithful sister seventy-eight years of age, who is an energetic Christian" (*Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1904a. 136). In the southern field, women were also responsible for the development of niches of religious pluralism.

> "From Tlacotalpam a trip of seven hours up the river brought the missionary to the town of Cosamaloapam [Veracruz]. The little boy who took us to a hotel in this town proved to be the son of the owner of the hotel. After a little conversation with this man, we found him to be a sympathizer with the Evangelical faith and a regular subscriber to the paper 'El Mundo Cristiano.' We found the mayor of the town as well as one of the schoolteachers was a regular reader of this church paper. This is the result of the efforts of a woman who lives in another town on another branch of the river who has done all she could to evangelize her own people" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1922. 351).

[26] Appendix 3.3 provides a detail background on the sex ratio similarities and differences found in the three selected cases during the three periods of interest.

Even after the severe and violent confrontations between Roman Catholics and Presbyterians in 1875 at the port of Acapulco, women were allowed to continue working the field by distributing tracts and other literature. After foreign missionaries were forced to abandon the mission station at the port city of Acapulco on the Pacific coast the missionary work was left in the hands of a local woman, Mathilde Rodriguez, who successfully continued to distribute Bibles and tracts (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1884). Ms. Rodriguez success was recognized when in 1884 Rev. J. Milton Greene and Rev. Procopio Diaz returned to Acapulco. During their 1884 visit, they "held thirty-two services, established thirteen congregations, baptized two hundred and eighty persons, and formed six churches, regularly organized with elders" all of which could not have been accomplished if not for the hard work of Ms. Rodriguez (Church, 1891. 149; *Historical Sketches of the Missions Under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1891).

However, not only local women played an important role in the success and expansion of Protestantism. Foreign missionary women played a pivotal role in the development of religious pluralism. For the most part, Protestant missionary women from the United States were in charge of social programs as well as education efforts with in the mission organization. When Rev. J. M. Greene arrived in Mexico City in 1872, he was accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Greene and by Miss Fannie C. Snow. Shortly after their arrival, Miss Snow became in charge of the Girl School in Mexico City and administered it until 1884. In the meantime, Mrs. Greene worked in the Sunday school, organized societies to address pressing social problems, and accompanied Rev. Greene during his visits to outstations between 1872 and 1892. In addition, in 1888 during the

Board Annual meeting, women organized a temperance society whose goal was to bring attention to the growing drinking problems many towns were experiencing particularly with the extension of the railroad.

> "[T]he women of the several missions organized a temperance society, and at once began to agitate the subject in our evangelical churches. The majority of our converts the question was new and strange, but the good results are already visible in many of our churches. Pulque is produced in certain districts in much greater quantities than in others, and the railroads by their freight facilities open a much wider market for its consumption; indeed many of the passenger trains have a pulque car attached, in which huge hogshead of the vile stuff are carried to all the principal towns and cities. This has notably increased drunkenness and petty crimes in many places, and address to the inebriety caused by the use of strong distilled liquors like aguardiente, mescal, and tequila, presents a sad picture. During the last year the secular papers have done good service in calling attention to the evil, and to a degree advocating temperance measures" (*The Church at Home and Abroad: Published Monthly*, 1890. 235).

Working on social programs was not the only way by which missionary women contributed to the creation of niches of religious pluralism. Women also took part of the day-to-day decision processes within the mission stations and organized committees and collected funds to fulfil the needs of their congregation. For example, in the city of Paraíso in the state of Tabasco,

> "[T]he work has been still more marked. The church is filled regularly with eager listeners. During Dr. Greene's visit, nine persons were received to membership. Two of the wealthiest citizens, who are generally believed to have been implicated in the former incendiarism, sent a request to Dr. Greene for a female teacher to open a school, which they propose to support with all their influence. The brethren in this little congregation have been engaged for a year in collecting funds, the wives, and daughters forming themselves into a society for the purpose. Very wisely they are accumulating in advance in order, when a sufficient amount is secure, to build a substantial church edifice" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886. 30).

Social organizations as well as the day-to-day administration of the missions provided women with the opportunity to develop skills that were not available to them in other organizations existing at that the time in Mexico. In addition to the leadership opportunities and other informal education, missionary organization recognized very early the importance of women's education in Mexico and the lack of organizations available to fulfil those needs.

> "From the beginning of the school work in Toluca, the missionary in charge had in mind the idea of adding a training department in which a special course would be given to the young ladies who desired to prepare themselves for special work in our Missions, but it was not possible to carry out the plan until the spring of 1906. In April of that year, Miss Susan Jones, who had been at work in the City of Mexico as the representative of the Women's Board of Chicago, was appointed as a missionary of our Board, and at once took charge of this work. Although she has labored amid great difficulties, she has been able to keep the work going, and this year her first class graduates" (*Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, 1910. 212).

At the turn of the century, women from both Protestant and Roman Catholic families were attending Baptist schools in northern Mexico and Presbyterian schools in southern Mexico to the ratio of ten females per every male ("Mexico," 1904. 234).

Furthermore, missionary boards understood the importance of women in the field and periodically recognized their accomplishments and contributions. In Mexico City, after the death of Rev. Hiram P. Hamilton who was in charge of the American Bible Society's office for twenty-six years, in charge of the Theological Seminary in Mexico City, and in charge of twenty or thirty Mexican colporteurs, the board decided to leave the Agency in the hands of his wife, Mrs. Hamilton (Dwight, 1916). When the Secretary of the American Bible Society visited Mexico City in the winter of 1906, he found that

> "it would be agreeable to the missionary body if Mrs. Hamilton was appointed agent to succeed her husband. Mrs. Hamilton's perfect knowledge of the language, her sympathetic acquaintance with all the colporteurs and their families

> and their needs, her standing in the missionary body and her business ability all caused the Board of Managers to place her permanently in charge of this field. Faithfully she administered her trust" (Dwight, 1916. 472).

Mrs. Hamilton was the first woman to occupy such a high position of leadership within the American Bible Society until 1914 when the increasing violence in Mexico City forced her to leave her post (Dwight, 1916). During her tenure, Mrs. Hamilton marked on "a large map of the Republic the position of every one of her colporteurs. As they moved from place to place, these marks were changed, and daily by name, she followed these heroes of the faith in prayer that they might be given courage and patience for their work. She traveled over the Republic, visiting the missionary gatherings" (Dwight, 1916. 472). As the Mexican Revolution became more violent, the

> "Board of Managers asked her to withdraw, and at last, finally commanded her to leave Mexico, which she did in April, 1914. Through all the fiercest fighting in the city, even when the flying bullets stirred the skirt of her gown, as she sat at work in her home, she did not lose her nerve. Her heart was with the Mexican people and of a broken heart; she died, suddenly, at the Bible House, on the 5th of June, 1915. A rare and precious spirit, sincerely loved and widely mourned throughout all the Christian communities of the Republic" (Dwight, 1916. 473).

Firstly, in terms of conversion, women were many times the first ones to convert and to attend services, even when the community at large did not want to become involved. A few years after the Presbyterian Board attempted to establish a mission state in the city of Mérida in the state of Yucatán, Rev. Greene reported "[i]t is a remarkable fact, that only one woman was present at all the four services held. It is in the heart of woman that fanaticism finds its stronghold, but when she is won to the truth her influence will be the most important factor in the work of the Gospel" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886. 32).

Secondly, the work of foreign missionary women in the field ensured that local women were able to participate actively in the creation of niches of Protestantism. Years later "Mrs. Campbell's work among the women during the year has been excellent. She has shown that in Mexico, as elsewhere, the women can be reached" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895. 144). Finally, women also provided support to the missionaries arriving into new communities. "In one town a poor woman came to Mr. Brown, saying she had no money to give, but if a minister should be sent there she would do all the washing for his family free" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1897. 146).

The development of religious pluralism in southern Mexico was strongly influenced by women. Local women took charge of delivering the Protestant message in both rural and urban communities. They were among the first members of the Protestant churches. In return, Protestant organizations provided women with the necessary leadership and knowledge skills needed to participate in the developing a modern state. Suzanne Desan's (1990) work on popular religion during the French Revolution concludes that religion "legitimated and even acclaimed the potential spiritual value of those without earthly power" and "simultaneously provided women with an earthly arena for collective activism, initiative, and voice in the community at large" (Desan, 1990. 208). Furthermore, it was the educational efforts of Protestant missions that further contributed to the development of religious pluralism in Mexico.

EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

Until the 1930s, education in Mexico was for the most part in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. Baptists in the north and Presbyterians in the south recognized

the need for education and began opening day and boarding schools as well as develop successful training programs for teachers along their mission stations. The Presbyterian seminary and school established in Mexico City was one of the most important contributing factors in the development of religious pluralism in southern Mexico. Protestant emphasis on education, particularly of women and girls, their ability to produce educational materials, and their ability to remain serving their communities even in an increasingly secular environment contributed to the development of niches of Protestantism in Mexico.

Furthermore, Presbyterian ministers and teachers trained at their mission schools were able to develop strategies that allowed them to combine their religious message and practical teachings in an increasingly secular education field while both Roman Catholic found it challenging to adapt to the new secular regulations particularly during the violent anticlerical movements between 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore, in addition to satisfying the need for ordained ministers and trained teachers, the Presbyterian Church of the United States in Mexico City, was able to develop education materials that congregations could use even if teachers were not available.

Even though education in Mexico had been for the most part in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church since colonial times, the *Leyes de Reforma* in 1863 changed the focus of education in Mexico. The *Leyes de Reforma* established that all elementary education in Mexico had to be secular, compulsory for both boys and girls, and free (Vigil, 1979). The secularization of education in Mexico in the middle of the 19th century was not only an attempt by the state to shape the youth in the new nation state, but also to limit the control the Roman Catholic Church had in education. Protestant missionaries, both Baptists in the north and Presbyterians in the south recognized the increasing interest of the state in having an educated population and the lack of educational

organization at the end of the 19th century. "While there is an increased interest shown in the Republic in education of both sexes, there seems to be, by all accounts, a general apathy in the [Roman Catholic C]hurch" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1892 p. 179).

Literacy Background of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán

Protestant missionaries recognized that one of the major obstacles for the establishment of Protestantism in Mexico was the low level of literacy. On a report to the annual meeting of the American Bible Society, colporteur Valez reported that on the four *haciendas* and eight ranches they visited they "had the opportunity to talk of the Gospel rather than sell Bibles, because generally no one knows how to read" (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907 p. 57). Table 3.9 shows the literacy and illiteracy rates for the selected cases in 1900. The state of Campeche had the highest percentage of people who knew how to read and write, about twenty percent, above the national average. The states of Yucatán and Tabasco had the lowest (16.8 and 15.8 percent respectively) well below the national average. In all three cases, women were less likely to know how to read and write than males were (Estadística, 1900; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956).

Table 3.9. Population Literate and Illiterate by Gender in 1900

State	Total Population		
	Total	Males	Females
Campeche	86 542	41 375	45 167
Tabasco	159 834	80 858	78 976
Yucatán	309 652	153 381	156 271
Mexico	13 607 259	6 752 118	6 855 141

	Literate					
	Total	Percentage	Male	Percentage Male	Female	Percentage Female
Campeche	17 569	20.3	9 459	22.9	8 110	18.0
Tabasco	25 227	15.8	15 232	18.8	9 995	12.7
Yucatán	51 886	16.8	27 133	17.7	24 753	15.8
Mexico	2 527 491	18.6	1 436 893	21.3	1 090 598	15.9

	Illiterate					
	Total	Percentage	Male	Percentage Male	Female	Percentage Female
Campeche	44 396	51.3	19 698	47.6	24 698	54.7
Tabasco	74 607	46.7	34 465	42.6	40 142	50.8
Yucatán	180 107	58.2	86 366	56.3	93 741	60.0
Mexico	6 784 624	49.9	3 119 944	46.2	3 664 680	53.5

	Illiterate under the Age of Twelve					
	Total	Percentage	Male	Percentage Male	Female	Percentage Female
Campeche	24 577	28.4	12 218	29.5	12 359	27.4
Tabasco	59 440	37.2	30 831	38.1	28 609	36.2
Yucatán	77 659	25.1	39 882	26.0	37 777	24.2
Mexico	4 129 142	30.3	2 118 843	31.4	2 010 299	29.3

	Literacy Unknown					
	Total	Percentage	Male	Percentage Male	Female	Percentage Female
Campeche	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tabasco	560	0.4	330	0.4	230	0.3
Yucatán	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Mexico	166 002	1.2	76 438	1.1	89 564	1.3

Source:
Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. DGE.

In the case of Campeche, 20.3 percent of the total population were able to read and write with almost twenty-three percent of males and eighteen percent of females being able to do so (Estadística, 1900). Although the state of Campeche had the highest percentage of people who knew how to read and write in 1900, it only had twelve teachers per 10,000 people and sixteen per 10,000 people in the capital of the same name. Ten years later, there were fourteen teachers per 10,000 people. Campeche also had the lowest number of schools in the three states with only 102 elementary schools in the state (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). There were forty-nine government schools for males, thirty-three for females, but only three received both males and females (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). Furthermore, there were seventeen non-governmental elementary schools in the state of which four were still in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church in 1907 (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). While the percentages of literacy placed Campeche above the literacy level of the nation, the population under twelve-years of age who could not read or write was 28.4 percent with almost thirty percent of males and 27.4 percent of females unable to read and write (Estadística, 1900).

In comparison, the states of Yucatán and Tabasco had a lower than average percentage of their population who were able to read and write. In the case of Yucatán, the higher concentration of indigenous people speaking only Yucatecan Maya coupled with the high numbers of people living in rural communities might help explain the lower percentage of literacy particularly among people twelve-years and older (Estadística, 1900). In the state of Yucatán in 1900 there were fifteen teachers per 10,000 people and in the capital, Mérida, there were forty-four teachers per 10,000 people and by 1910 the number of teachers in Yucatán had almost doubled to twenty-six per 10,000 people (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). The total number of schools in

Yucatán was the highest of the three states, but it also had the highest population. Of the 361 elementary schools working in 1900, 220 were for males only, 141 were for females and eighty-seven had both male and female pupils (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956).

In addition, there were twelve non-governmental elementary schools of which six were still under the Roman Catholic Church (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). Although Yucatán had the highest number of teachers and schools at the turn of the century only 16.8 percent of the total population was able to read and write (Estadística, 1900). Literacy in Yucatán followed the same gender difference found in the state of Campeche with 17.7 percent of males and only 15.8 percent of females able to read and write (Estadística, 1900). Interestingly, the percentage of population twelve-years and younger who were not able to read and write was relatively lower than in the other two cases (Estadística, 1900). In Yucatán, 25.1 percent of the total population under twelve-years of age were illiterate, with twenty-six percent of males and 24.2 percent of females compared with 28.4 percent in Campeche and 37.2 in Tabasco (Estadística, 1900).

At the state level, Tabasco had the lowest levels of literacy of the three cases as well as the largest difference between males and females in 1900. It is likely that the difference observed is due to the weak presence of the Roman Catholic Church, since until the 1930s the Roman Catholic Church was the main provider of education in Mexico. Similarly, Tabasco had the lowest number of teachers (eight) per 10,000 people, however it had the highest number of teachers (fifty-five) and the highest rate of teachers (fifty-two) to 10,000 people in the capital, San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). The overall percent of the population who could read and write in Tabasco in 1900 was only 15.8 with 18.8 males and only 12.7

females being able to read and write (Estadística, 1900). In addition, 37.2 percent of the population under twelve-years of age who could not read and write, with 38.1 percent of males and 36.2 percent of females unable to do so (Estadística, 1900). Government elementary schools in the state of Tabasco also followed a different pattern of distribution.

In both Campeche and Yucatán there were more schools dedicated to the education of boys than to the education of girls and even less number of schools were teaching both boys and girls. In the state of Tabasco, there were a greater number of schools already teaching boys and girls at the turn of the 20th century than only boys or only girls. In 1900, there were 135 government elementary schools in the state, with twenty-four for boys, twenty-nine for girls, and eighty-seven for both genders (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). In addition, there were a total of thirty-one non-government elementary schools, four of which were under the Roman Catholic Church in 1900 and of the eighteen non-governmental elementary schools in the state of Tabasco in 1907 six were under the Roman Catholic Church (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956).

Protestant Education and the Creation of Niches of Protestantism

During the early period of Protestant expansion, literacy efforts, mission schools, and printing contributed to the creation of niches of Protestantism in southern Mexico. Protestant organizations in Mexico recognized the educational challenges that Mexico faced at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries and were able to develop strategies to address those challenges. The first challenge Protestant missionaries recognized and were able to address was the lack of attention given to the education of

women and girls. The second challenge was the lack of qualified teachers, particularly in light of the role of the Roman Catholic Church had in education and the anticlerical sentiments of the 1920s. Third, Protestant organizations recognized the need for pedagogical materials that could be used by members of their congregations even if qualified teachers were not available. Finally, Protestant organizations, particularly the Presbyterian Church of the United States, were successful in circumventing the increasing calls for secular education during the 1920s and 1930s in Mexico.

The Education of Women

To address the lack of educational opportunities available to women in Mexico and the lack of trained teachers, the Presbyterian Church in the United States opened a teaching training school in Mexico City in 1880 for women and girls. The goal of the Presbyterian Normal School for Girls in Mexico City was that one day it would supply "thoroughly instructed and truly pious young Mexican women" who in the future could "establish schools in towns and villages, where at present not more than five in twenty children can read even indifferently" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1885. 24).

> "One of the best and most satisfactory enterprises undertaken by the women of the church was the purchase of the property for the establishment of the Girl's Normal School in Mexico City…There is no reason to suppose that this may not for many years be a source of blessing to the women of Mexico. Twelve graduates of this school either are, or have been in the actual work of teaching. The institution has enabled the Board to stand almost entirely upon the principle that day-schools are to be taught by native teachers. This is an economical policy where it can be successfully carried out and should be maintained, if possible, in a country where all forms of work are exceptionally expensive" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1892. 184).

Graduates from the Presbyterian teaching school were in high demand not only among the growing Presbyterian congregations but also among the growing secular elementary schools. Even though the education of women continue to be a challenge in the 1920s, in Mexico girls outnumbered boys ten to one in Protestant schools.

> "[T]he hardest thing we have to combat in an educational way is the difference of the parents. They do not see the importance of a well-rounded education and development. They do not care to have their girls fitted to less useful or intelligent lives. They think that with four or five years, or at the most six years, of schooling they are ready for life as they know it, and they do not see that there is any life better or fuller than their daughters might have" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921. 321).

Protestant organizations were not only concerned with the education of women and girls. After graduating, women went into the field, opened Protestant schools next to Protestant churches, and in many occasions were in charge of maintaining the niches of Protestantism. For example, in Paraíso the first Presbyterian school was administered by a graduate from the Presbyterian Normal School for Girls in Mexico City and along with Rev. Greene's wife organized committees to address social problems in their communities (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886).

Protestant Teaching Schools

In order to address high levels of illiteracy, to teach people how to read the Bible, and to ensure that their members participated fully in the organizational structure of the congregation Protestant organizations established normal schools in Mexico starting in 1880. Once the initial Protestant presence is established, the emphasis on being able to

read the Bible and the centrality of the individual ability to comprehend and interpret its message, creates and environment where literacy rates increased with each generation. For example, in 1895, Rev. Millar of the Presbyterian Mission in Mexico City, reported that one of the congregations in Tabasco was eager to have their own pastor, even though they were very poor and could not afford a salary (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895). The congregation had been praying and asked that Rev. Millar visit them since he had not been to see them in two years (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895). At their request, Rev. Millar visited them and he found a substantial change among their members. Rev. Millar reported to the Presbyterian Board describing the change in literacy he found during his visit and its connection to Protestant teachings and organizational structure.

> "[T]wo years ago some of these people could hardly read at all, but now can read pretty well, and they have learned by reading the Bible. One old man, about seventy years of age, has committed to memory seven chapters of St. Mark, and has taught them to his two [grandchildren]" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1897. 174).

Along with Protestant mission stations in Mexico, just as in other parts of the world, Protestant Sunday-schools, day schools, and boarding schools were established. Starting as early as 1885, the Presbyterian Mission in Mexico City reported:

> "[t]he highest measure of success will be realized in Mexico only when we can place side by side with the faithful minister of Christ a godly teacher who will devote himself or herself to the intellectual and spiritual education of the youth, among whom as a class so great a desire is found for instruction" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1885. 24).

The Protestant approaches to education influenced the creation of religious pluralism in Tabasco and in Yucatán, although the effect in Campeche was not as clear. Protestant schools were working in Comalcalco, Paraíso, and Frontera in the state of Tabasco as early as 1880 (Martinez-Assad, 2006), according to the Annual Report to the Presbyterian Church in the United States of the four Sunday-schools in Mérida, three were not included in their report in 1921 as they "wished to give them longer to prove themselves" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921 p. 319). According to the Annual Report to the Presbyterian Church of the United States in 1890,

> "good work has been done in our day-schools…Very encouraging reports have also been sent in from the states of Tabasco, Michoacán, Hidalgo and Guerrero, showing the interest and pride even the people take in our schools and their growing desire for a better education…In a number of places, such as Paraíso, the people give regularly a part of the teacher's salary. Wherever our schools are established we gain a strong hold upon the esteem and affection of the people" (*The Church at Home and Abroad: Published Monthly*, 1890. 236).

Although Protestant mission schools were needed to educate "the children of Protestant parents" who could be persecuted in the government schools, many Roman Catholic parents sent their children to Presbyterian schools (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1884. 21). For example, by 1914 in the city of Ticul, approximately forty miles south of Mérida, Yucatán, Protestant children and Roman Catholic children were attending the Presbyterian day school administered by the Presbyterian Church of the United States (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1914. 318). By 1920, the Turner Hodge school in the city of Mérida, Yucatán was so "crowded and since students were turned away" a new building had to be

acquired (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 54).

Table 3.10 shows the presence of Protestant schools in Mexico at the turn of the century. Between 1904 and 1905, there were 133 schools in Mexico run by Protestant organizations serving 10,447 students (*The Blue Book of Missions for 1905*, 1905; "The Encyclopedia of Missions.," 1904; "Mexico," 1904).

Table 3.10. Protestant Schools and Printing Houses 1904-1905

Mission	Year Established	Schools	Pupils	Printing Houses
American Baptist Home Missionary Society	1870	1	30	0
American Friends' Foreign Missionary Society	1871	9	494	0
American Board Foreign Missionary Society	1872	8	726	0
Presbyterian Board Missionary (North)	1872	29	661	0
Methodist Episcopal (South) Missionary	1873	0	0	1
Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society	1873	43	3990	0
Presbyterian(South) Missionary Society	1874	6	395	1
Southern Baptist Convention	1880	5	192	0
Association Reformed Presbyterian Synod (South)	1880	5	182	0
Woman's Methodist Episcopal (South)	1881	23	3017	0
Cumberland Presbyterian Missionary Society	1888	1	50	0
Woman's Baptist Home Missionary Societies	1893	1	250	0
Seventh Day Adventists	1894	0	0	1
Christian Woman's Board Missions (Disciples of Christ)	1897	2	460	1
Total		133	10447	4

Sources:
Blue Book of Missions 1905
Encyclopedia of Mission 1904

The earliest Protestant school was established by the American Baptist Home Missionary society in 1870. Between 1870 and 1879 there were ninety-six schools run by seven Protestant organizations. Between 1880 and 1888, thirty-four more were established by four Protestant organizations and in the last decade of the 19th century

three more opened in the country by two more organizations. Baptist organizations administered seven schools, mostly in Mexico City and in the northern states serving 472 students between 1904 and 1905. Presbyterian organization were in charge of forty-one schools and had the most extensive presence in Mexico with schools in the northern, central, and southern regions with a total of 1,289 students (*The Blue Book of Missions for 1905*, 1905; "The Encyclopedia of Missions.," 1904).

Methodist Episcopal organizations had the largest number of schools, sixty-six in total and had the largest number of students 7,007. The American Friend's Foreign Missionary Society administered nine with 494 students. The American Board of Foreign Missionary Society had eight schools and 726 students. Finally, the Christian Woman's Board Missions opened two schools in 1897 and served 460 students between 1904 and 1905 (*The Blue Book of Missions for 1905*, 1905; "The Encyclopedia of Missions.," 1904).

Finally, the Methodist Episcopal (South) Missionary managed one of the four printing houses in Mexico. In 1874 the Presbyterian (South) Missionary Society opened a printing house, in 1894 the Seventh Day Adventist open the third printing house, finally, in 1897 the fourth printing house in Mexico was under the Christian Woman's Board Missions of the Disciples of Christ (*The Blue Book of Missions for 1905*, 1905; "The Encyclopedia of Missions.," 1904).

Educational Materials

To address the third challenge, the lack of adequate teaching materials, Protestant missions utilized their printing houses and produced, along with religious literature, education materials that could be use by congregations even if a teacher was not

available. Five years after the Presbyterian mission established its printing house in Mexico City they were producing educational pamphlets and distributing them amongst their mission schools.

> "We have every reason to believe that the use of these leaflets is leading to a fuller and more thorough study of God's word, and to the better organization of our Sabbath-school work. We send them to all our native workers, and tell them to organize a school, with classes and teachers if any of their converts are competent to instruct the rest; but if not, to turn the whole congregation into one large class of old and young, and themselves to teach the lessons" (*The Church at Home and Abroad: Published Monthly*, 1890. 236).

By 1885, the Presbyterian printing house began to produce hymnbooks and religious tracts[27], many of which were original and targeted to their conversion efforts in Mexico. For example, the Presbyterian Mission in Mexico published a "bright and able religious paper," El Faro (The Lighthouse), in Mexico City January 1, 1885. In total there were six papers published by Protestant organization in Mexico at the end of the 19th century. The above mentioned, *El Faro*, was in the hands of the Presbyterian Mission, *La Luz* (The light) was published by the Baptist Mission. Congregationalists published *El Testigo* (The Witness) and the Friends published *El Ramo del Olivo* (The Olive Branch) southern Methodists published *El Evangelista* (The Evangelist) while northern Methodists published *El Abogado Christiano Ilustrado* (The Illustrate Christian Advocate) (*The Blue Book of Missions for 1905*, 1905; "The Encyclopedia of Missions.," 1904). In addition to the religious materials, the Presbyterian Mission in Mexico City also began printing lesson plans for Sunday Schools and for their elementary schools, as well as certificates and other educational materials (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign*

[27] Tracts are small pamphlets containing religious massages.

Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1884. p. 22; *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1885).

Protestant papers were used extensively as recruiting mechanisms as well as to address some of the concerns Protestant organizations faced. In 1892, *El Tiempo,* the Jesuit paper declared that "Protestants have never sent aid for the relief of physical suffering in times of flood or famine or other physical distress" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1892 p. 180). In response, Protestant missionaries published the locations receiving aid between 1878 and 1880 including the China and Persia famine and the Russo-Turkish war (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1892).

Secularization of Education

Another element by which education contributed to the successful creation of niches of Protestantism in southern Mexico was the ability of some Protestant organization to circumvent the increasing secular laws regarding education during the second period of expansion between 1910 and 1930. According to the 1917 Mexican Constitution, the laws in Mexico prohibited any type of religious instruction in schools, including teaching from the Bible, or using the Bible as a textbook (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920).

Schools under the Presbyterian Church of the United States in Mexico were able to circumvent the law by establishing separate "moral classes" that took place directly after school hours in the school or the mission house. The main goal of the "moral classes" was to continue to be able to teach Biblical principles in an increasingly secular

environment (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920. 297). In several Presbyterian schools, even though the Bible was not use as a textbook, it was kept open and available for pupils, teachers, and parents in Latin, Spanish, and English (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1920). Even though religious instruction was prohibited even in boarding schools under the care of Protestant organizations, missionaries held "family prayers with the boarders, and the interest all taken in this daily devotion would warm the boarders" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1921. 321).

Education and Religious Pluralism in Tabasco

The effect of educational reforms made by Protestants in southern Mexico can be best observed in the educational policies of Governor Tomás Garrido Canabal in Tabasco during the period of conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the federal government. Garrido's educational plan was strongly influenced by the writings of Francisco Ferrer Guardia and Catalonian libertarian anarchism (Bookchin, 1977). The Catalonian model of education was in strong opposition to the educational model of the Roman Catholic Church. The Catalonian model called for the development of a curriculum based on natural science and moral rationalism rejecting all forms of religious dogma and political bias (Bookchin, 1977).

One explicit goal of Garrido's educational reform was to improve the economic status and quality of life of the people in Tabasco, one implicit goal was to continue diminishing the power that the Roman Catholic church held after the *Leyes* de *Desamortización de las Fincas Rústicas y Urbans de las Corporaciones Civiles y*

Religious de Mexico of 1856 (Martinez-Assad, 2006). In order to achieve his goals, Garrido opened a series of schools focused on rational and practical learning across the state between 1925 and 1926. Within this new education system, the role of the school was to "give a scientific explanation of the universe and of man" and terminate supernatural explanations (Martinez-Assad, 2006. 175). The schools were open to both boys and girls and had a variety of formats: open-air schools, productive schools, and farm-schools, but the main objective of all of them was to provide a rational, practical, and above all secular education that further the separation between the state and the Roman Catholic Church (Martinez-Assad, 2006).

In the state of Tabasco, Governor Garrido created the *Liga de Maestros Ateos* (the Union of Atheist Teachers) whose members were required to pledge an oath declaring themselves to be atheists, enemies of the Roman Catholic Church, attack religious worship, and combat the clergy as it became necessary (Bantjes, 1997; Martinez-Assad, 2006). The *Liga de Maestros Ateos* played an important role in anticlerical movements particularly in rural areas during the second period of study. Similar oaths were required from teachers in Yucatán; however, in the state of Campeche the anticlerical movement was not as strong.

Table 3.11 below shows the total and percentage of the population attending elementary school between age six and ten years old in 1930. All three cases had a higher percentage of population attending elementary schools than the national average. In the state of Campeche, 54.9 percent of males age six to ten and 52.42 percent of males were attending elementary schools regularly. Tabasco had the lowest percentage of population attending schools (45.91 percent of males and 42.39 percent of females), while the state of Yucatán had the highest percent of its population attending school (60.36 percent total) with no noteworthy gender difference in 1930 (Estadística, 1930).

Table 3.11. Total Population 6 to 10 years of age by Gender who Attend School by State in 1930

States	Total Population 6 to 10 Years Old		
	Males	Females	Total
Campeche	5 870	5 870	12 107
Tabasco	16 653	16 653	34 752
Yucatán	24 860	24 860	51 371
Total	1 148 102	1 094 356	2 242 458
	Population 6 to 10 years old Attending School		
	Male	Female	Total
Campeche	3 424	3 077	6 501
Tabasco	8 309	7 059	15 368
Yucatán	15 986	15 022	31 008
Total	493 806	448 357	942 163
	Percentage		
	Male	Female	Total
Campeche	54.90	52.42	53.70
Tabasco	45.91	42.39	44.22
Yucatán	60.30	60.43	60.36
Total	43.01	40.97	42.01

Note: Even though compulsory elemental education age is between six and twelve years of age, the numbers above only show the population between six and ten years old, since the total population between the ages of eleven and fourteen is not available.

Source:
Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. DEN.

The institutionalization of a public education system undermined the presence and strength of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico during the anticlerical movement, however, in the state of Tabasco the state support to Protestant organizations went beyond that of any other state at the time. Governor Garrido further alienated the Roman Catholic Church when, following the stipulations of the 1917 Mexican Constitution, he ordered that all abandoned Roman Catholic churches be turned into elementary schools (Martinez-Assad, 2006). In 1930 of the eighty-five Roman Catholic churches in Tabasco, sixty-eight had been converted into schools and only fifteen continued to hold Roman Catholic worship (Martinez-Assad, 2006) Furthermore, with the weakening of the Roman

Catholic Church influence in education, Protestant organizations were able extend their formal education efforts. By 1920, the Presbyterian missionaries in Tabasco had opened elementary schools in Comalcalco and Paraíso (*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922).

Governor Garrido used the newspaper *Redención*, which began distribution in 1924, to spread his educational, social, and political message. By 1920, following the example set by Protestant organizations earlier, his government began to publish educational pamphlets in the newspaper. These pamphlets were designed to be collected into book form and included topics in agriculture, ranching, child education, prevention and treatment local disease, and alphabetization (Martinez-Assad, 2006). Governor Garrido further used the newspaper *Redención* to deliver his anticlerical and temperance messages. The newspaper invited people to attend secular theatrical presentations with strong anticlerical message along with new nationalism and patriotism undertones that highlighted among other ills of society the bad influences of alcoholic beverages (Bantjes, 1997; de la Fuente Monge, 1997; Martinez-Assad, 2006). Governor Garrido's influence continued even after he had left office, as can be seen from the declaration of Governor Ausencio C. Cruz, who ordered that all towns named after religious figures change their names to a local or national hero in Tabasco (Martinez-Assad, 2006).

The policies of Governor Garrido further facilitated the growth of Protestantism since they guaranteed the separation of the social, political, and religious spheres and ensured that individuals not following the Roman Catholic tradition continued their economic participation, precisely at times of increase economic diversity and demand. By the 1960s, Protestant schools continue to be strong in southern Mexico. The Seven Day Adventist Church had one primary school in Cárdenas, one in Comalcalco, two in Canduacán, and one in Villahermosa (Taylor & Coggins, 1961). The United Presbyterian

Church of the United States had one primary school, one secondary school and one college in the city of Mérida, in the state of Yucatán (Taylor & Coggins, 1961).

Protestant organizations contributed first to the creation of religious pluralism in southern Mexico through the emphasis placed on the education of women and girls. Protestant denominations established teaching training schools and elementary schools alongside their seminaries and churches in order to ensure that future generations of Protestant were well educated and could actively participate in the internal church organization. Graduates from the Presbyterian Normal School for Girls in Mexico City administer elementary schools in Tabasco and Yucatán. The Protestant seminaries and teaching training schools ensured that local people satisfied the demand for ministers and teachers.

Secondly, the ability that Protestant denomination had to produce and distribute education materials to their congregations was crucial in ensuring their growth particularly when the number of ordained ministers was small. In addition, by opening elementary and secondary schools and by taking advantage of their printing facilities Protestants organizations ensure that the members of their congregations were able to read the Bible and became full and active members of their congregations.

Finally, the ability of some Protestant denominations to circumvent the growing secularization process in Mexico allowed them to maintain a strong presence in some institutional spheres, particularly education and healthcare. Presbyterian organizations were particularly successful in circumventing the secular movement in education in southern Mexico. Presbyterians created an apparent separation between religion and education and encouraged Roman Catholic parents to send their children to their schools following the guidelines of the anticlerical articles of the Mexican Constitution.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS: *HACIENDAS*, *FINCAS*, AND *EJIDOS*

Although population characteristics and education policies contributed to the strength of the Protestant organizations in southern Mexico, particularly during the period of strong anticlerical sentiments, settlement patterns in the three southern states were crucial during the early period of expansion. In the states of Campeche and Yucatán, an environment suitable to extensive agriculture and widespread presence of indigenous labor at the end of the 1700s contributed to the presence of European settlers, to an early economic development, to the early development of a religious market place dominated by the Roman Catholic Church and centered on the *hacienda* system. *Haciendas*, *fincas*, and *ejidos* had not only different economic structures; they also had different social and cultural structures.

Haciendas in Campeche and Yucatán were large landholdings in the hands of individual owners dedicated to the commercial production of henequen, cattle, and sugar. The labor force in the *hacienda* included *peones*, *jornaleros,* and *luneros* who lacked access to land and worked as day, week, or seasonal labor, and were tied to the *hacienda* not only by strong economic dependence, but also by strong social and cultural ties. By the 19th century, *haciendas* had become the center of the economic and social activities in both Campeche and Yucatán. In this socioeconomic system, it was imperative that members of the communities surrounding the *hacienda* belong to the overreaching umbrella of the Roman Catholic Church to ensure their social and economic survival. Therefore, it was not until the breakdown of the *haciendas* in the late 1920s and 1930s that niches of religious pluralism could develop in the state of Yucatán. However, in the case of Campeche, religious pluralism did not start until Pentecostal denominations, such

as the Assemblies of God, and other Evangelical denominations, such as the Seven-Day Adventists and the Church of Christ entered the religious market.

In contrast, the case of Tabasco was the most rural of the three states and it was dominated by subsistence agriculture or agricultural production for local markers in the hands of small landowners[28]. It was not until the end of the 1800s that *fincas*, large commercial landholdings, dedicated to the production of tropical agriculture began to grow in the state. In Tabasco, *fincas* were organized differently than *haciendas* and therefore created different economic, social, and cultural structures. Until the end of the 1800s, Tabasco's economy was dominated by subsistence agriculture in the hands of small landholders and by agricultural production for the local markets. Large commercial landholdings, dedicated to the production of tropical fruits on the Gulf of Mexico coast and tropical wood in the forest near the border with Chiapas where the exception. However, Tabasco's legislature limited the size of the *fincas* in 1909, required that workers received their wages in cash, rather than in kind as it was the custom in the *haciendas*, and ensured workers' rights to be organized into unions (*Constitución Política del Estado de Tabasco*, 1914). In Tabasco, *fincas* and smaller landholdings did not provide, nor require, overreaching community organizations centered on Roman Catholic religious rituals to ensure the redistribution of resources. For example, in Tabasco the early cash-based economy allowed individuals to break from the status provided by overreaching religious-social structures such as the *cargo* or *cofradias*, and separated the religious, economic, and cultural spheres as early as the end of the 19th century.

Finally, *ejidos* were communal lands mostly dedicated to subsistent agriculture and small production for local markets given to communities as the *haciendas* broke

[28] Appendix 3.1 offers detail information on the number of rural and urban communities in the three selected cases, as well as the number and percentage of the population living in those communities.

down after the Mexican Revolution and the Land Reform between 1910 and 1920. The *ejido* (between ten and twenty hectares) and small landholders having up to eighty hectares (197.3 acres) were dedicated mostly to the very small commercial production of cacao, watermelon, pineapple in Tabasco and of corn, beans, and squash, in all three cases. Landless workers, such as *peones*, *jornaleros,* and *luneros*, who had resided and worked at the *haciendas* for at least six months prior to its dismantling were qualified to be part of the *ejidal* community and could work the land assigned to them (Baustista, 1992). *Ejido* lands could not be sold or rented, and had to be worked by members of the community (Baustista, 1992). Between 1910 and 1930, the political turmoil of the Mexican Revolution and the *Cristero* Rebellion hindered the development of strong communal ties between members of an *ejidal* community since the land granted could be easily taken away by a competing revolutionary groups (Baustista, 1992).

Background of Settlement Patterns in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán

According to table 3.12 in the state of Campeche there were 475 settlements, less than one percent of all settlements in the country, two of which were classified as cities and seven as villas (Estadística, 1900). Tabasco was the most rural of the three cases and even though there were more cities in Tabasco than in Campeche, the percentage of the population residing in smaller rural community was higher in Tabasco[29]. In the state of Tabasco there were twice as many population settlements (787 in total), with five cities and twelve villages (Estadística, 1900). It is interesting to note that four percent of all settlements in Mexico during this period were in the state of Yucatán, a total of 2,237, with eight cities and fifteen villages (Estadística, 1900).

[29] Appendix 3.1 offers detail information regarding the number of urban and rural communities as well as the number and percentage of population.

Table 3.12. Population Settlements in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán in 1900

State	Number of Localities	Percentage	Number of Cities	Percentage	Number of Villas	Percentage
Campeche	475	0.9	2	0.9	7	0.01
Tabasco	787	1.4	5	2.2	12	0.02
Yucatán	2 237	4.0	8	3.5	15	0.03
Mexico	55 907	100.0	229	100.0	487	100.00

Source:
Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. DEN.

The population distribution in rural and urban settings was also different for the three cases. By the 1910 Census, 41.72 percent of the population of Campeche resided in 393 towns with less than 500 people and with an average of ninety-two people in each, while almost fifty percent of Tabasco's population was scattered in 1,977 towns with less than 500 people, each with an average of forty-seven people[30]. In the state of Yucatán, 40.56 percent of the population lived in 2,063 towns with less than 500 people with an average of sixty-six inhabitants. In the state of Campeche, 24.33 percent of the population lived in towns between 501 and 2,500 people. In Tabasco, 36.35 percent of the population lived in towns between 501 and 2,500 people while twenty-eight percent of people in Yucatán resided in towns between 501 and 2,500 people.

The above suggests that Campeche and Yucatán had about the same percentage of the population living in rural areas, 66.10 percent and 68.56 percent respectively, while Tabasco's rural population was much higher (86.05 percent) (Estadística, 1910). By 1900, Yucatán was the most urbanized of the three cases, with 13.04 percent of the population of the state living in cities with 2,501 and 6,000 people and 18.41 percent of

[30] Appendix 3.1 offers detail information on the number of rural and urban communities in the three selected cases as well as the number and percentage of the population living in those communities.

people living in the largest city in southern Mexico, Mérida with 62,447 inhabitants (Estadística, 1910). In the case of Campeche, 6.99 percent of the population lived in two cities with an average of 3,024 each while 9.54 percent of the population resided in the second largest city in the state, El Carmen, with 6, 535 people, rest of the population, 19.37 percent resided in the capital, Campeche (Estadística, 1910). Finally, 7.38 percent of the population of Tabasco resided in five cities each with an average of 2,771 people and the final 6.57 percent of Tabasco's residents lived in the capital, San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), a total of 12,327 (Estadística, 1910).

Community Organization: Two Pathways to Religious Pluralism

In the first part of the 20th century, there were three main types of economic production and labor organization according to the three types of land holdings in the three selected cases: *haciendas*, *fincas*, and *ejidos* (García, 2012). As discussed above, *haciendas* were dedicated to the commercial production of henequen, cattle, and sugar most numerous in the states of Yucatán and Campeche, the *fincas* in Tabasco were dedicated to the production of tropical fruits and woods, and the *ejidos* were communal lands mostly dedicated to subsistence agriculture and small production for local markets in all three states.

On the one hand, the very large size of some of the *fincas* in Tabasco, which in some cases reached over 215,000 hectares (530,000 acres) and extended beyond the borders of Tabasco into Campeche and Chiapas led to the Land Law of 1909 that limited individual property in Tabasco to 5,000 hectares (12,000 acres). On the other hand, in Campeche and Yucatán, even after the Federal Land Reform of 1910 *haciendas* continued to increase in size (Nickel, 1997). Labor in the *hacienda* as supply by

jornaleros and *peones* who lacked access to their own land and worked as day, week, or seasonal labor. In most cases, laborers were tied to the land, not only through economic hardship, but also by strong social and cultural ties. The *fincas*, particularly those in the central part of Tabasco dedicated to the production of bananas and cacao for the expanding international market used wage labor as early as 1900s and in compliance with the increasing liberal policies of Governor Garrido in the 1920s.

On the one hand, in Campeche and Yucatán, *haciendas* and their strong link to Roman Catholic rituals and traditions hindered the early settlement of Protestants. The *peonaje* system found in Campeche and Yucatán placed all social, cultural, and economic activities within the umbrella of the *hacienda.* On the other hand, *fincas* and smaller landholdings in Tabasco were one of the contributing factors to the development of religious diversity particularly between 1880 and 1910. The commercial *fincas* and smaller landholdings offered more opportunities for individuals to cross social, economic, and cultural spheres. The *fincas* and small landholdings did not provide or require overreaching community organizations to ensure the redistribution of resources since it created an early cash-based economy, and it allowed individuals to break from the status provided by overreaching religious-social structures, separating the religious, economic, and cultural spheres and creating an early institutional differentiation in Tabasco.

Haciendas Delayed the Growth of Religious Pluralism in Yucatán and Campeche

The economic landscape of Campeche and Yucatán during the last decade of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century shared important similarities. The main economic organization of both states was the *hacienda,* which in turn determined the social and cultural organization of the communities in both states. Starting as early as

1540, the Spanish developed a livestock-raising economy in Campeche and Yucatán that provided beef for local markets and leather products for export (Meyers, 2005). As production in the *haciendas* became more diversified in Campeche and Yucatán and as they increased in size, they began to absorb indigenous people living in hamlets and in small villages as *Luneros*, tenants whom in exchange for working for the hacienda on Monday (*Lunes* in Spanish) could cultivate small parcels of land for their own needs (Meyers, 2005).

However, as *haciendas* increased production the nature of labor relations changed. The 1857 Mexican constitution explicitly prohibited *peonaje* (force labor) in Mexico. However, the 1882 Yucatán State Constitution upheld *peonaje* laws and *peonaje* in Yucatán continued until it was abolished in 1914 (Meyers, 2005). *Peonaje* was not only a strategy of *hacendados* to maintain access to cheap labor, but was also a way to monopolize the scarce water resources in both Campeche and Yucatán by restricting the number of people who could have access to land for subsistent agriculture and by restricting the mobility of *peones*.

Unlike the case of Tabasco where population was extremely low during colonial times, towards the end of the 18th century, *haciendas* in Campeche and Yucatán responded to the demands of the increasing indigenous population in the region by diversifying their production to include sugar, corn, and later henequen (Meyers, 2005). The production of *haciendas* in Campeche and Yucatán was by the end of the 19th century, mostly dedicated to exports. For example, Campeche, Yucatán, and Tabasco, produced ninety-five percent of all *chicle* exported from Mexico; Campeche and Yucatán produced ninety-nine percent of *Palo de Campeche*; and Yucatán produced ninety-nine percent of the production of henequen, a native agave use in the production of binder twine and textiles *(Edwards, 1924)*. Motul, about thirty miles northeast of Mérida was in

the 1920s the center of the henequen production in Yucatán with approximately 6,500 acres dedicated to the cultivation of Henequen (Edwards, 1924). In 1923, 540,000 were dedicated to henequen between Yucatán and Campeche producing 248,000,000 pounds of fiber (Edwards, 1924). Although, henequen was produced in both states, Campeche's labor situation was different, since many of the people who lived in the *haciendas* moved to the towns and as the percentage of population became more urban, more land was used for the production of food crops (Edwards, 1924).

As *haciendas* grew in power and size, the social and cultural organization of communities also changed. In Campeche and Yucatán, the *haciendas'* distinct layout contributed to a unique community organization. In Campeche and Yucatán the *hacienda's casco*[31] became the center of economic and social activities with the towns carefully arranged in its periphery (Leal & Huacuja-Rountree, 1984; Meyers, 2005). The *hacienda's casco* held within its walls the living quarters for the *hacendado's*[32] extended family, areas for economic activities and enclosures for animals. Within the *casco's* walls were also the *tienda de raya*[33], the only place where *peones* could obtain the things they needed in exchange for their labor since the main form of remuneration for their job was in kind, and the *tinacal* where *peones* could obtain fermented drinks, mostly *pulque* or *mezcal*. Additionally, *peones* could borrow tools and equipment from the *hacienda*. The lack of tools, agricultural equipment, and seeds was one of the main reasons why in *hacienda*-dominated economies people continue to work in the *haciendas* even after the land reform of the 1930s. Finally, religious structures were also within the enclosure of

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[31] The *hacienda's casco* refers to the main house and surrounding buildings usually contained within the hacienda's wall with the workers quarters and towns arranged in its periphery.
[32] *Hacendado* refers to the landowner.
[33] The *Tienda de Raya* refers to the hacienda's own store where *peones* could exchange what they needed for their labor and often in advance of their labor.

the *casco* making it the main center of religious activities. Each *hacienda* had its own chapel, its own vestry, and its own cemetery to fulfill the spiritual needs of the community (Knight, 1991; Meyers, 2005).

The *hacienda* structure offered some benefits, particularly in times of economic hardship. In terms of economic wellbeing, the *hacienda* offered access to land, to seeds, to technology, to animals, and to credit that otherwise would be inaccessible to *peones* or even to the few *jornaleros* (wage-labors) working for the *hacienda* (Knight, 1991). In terms of social wellbeing, the *hacienda* provided the opportunity to establish strong ties with other members of the community in generally through *fiestas* tied to Roman Catholic rituals and traditions and with the *hacendado* in particular through *apadrinazgo* and *compadrazgo*[34], both also linked to Roman Catholic sacraments (Knight, 1991).

The Mexican Constitution of 1917 reaffirmed the end of the system of *peonaje* at the federal level. However, the states of Puebla, Tlaxcala, Yucatán, Tabasco, and Chiapas under the military rule established the end of *peonaje* in their own state constitution between September and October of 1914 (Nickel, 1997). In 1914, Governor Domínguez created the law ending *peonaje* in Tabasco as well as all related debt. Furthermore, the Political Constitution of 1914 recognized that any *peon* who arrived at the state of Tabasco was free not only of his status but was also free of the debt owed to his prior employer (*Constitución Política del Estado de Tabasco*, 1914). The same year in the state of Yucatán governor Eleuterio Avila abolished *peonaje*. Unfortunately, due first to the economic structure of the henequen industry, the social relationship between the

[34] *Apadrinazgo* and *compagrazgo* refers to the kinship relationship established when one person provides assistance to other within the frame of a religious sacrament, such as baptism, confirmation, or marriage. *Apadrinazgo* refers to the relationship between the person receiving the sacrament (godson or goddaughter) and the person offering the assistance (godparent) while *compadrazgo* refers to the kinship established between the parent of the individual receiving the sacraments and the person providing the assistance (god parenthood).

hacendado and the *peon* and the strong cultural role of the Roman Catholic Church, the *peonaje* in Yucatán continued to be the way of life until the henequen industry collapsed in the 1930s (Nickel, 1997).

For the most part, *haciendas* in Mexico were not isolated economic enterprises, but formed part of an extensive web of economic and social alliances. *Hacendados*[35] established strong ties with other *hacendados* in order to plan for the long-term economic functions of the *hacienda*. It was not uncommon for *hacendados* to organize extensive watering and transportation systems, share technology and labor-force, and to arrange marriages between members of different *haciendas* (C. E. Davis, 1992; Miller, 1988). For example, in 1910 in the state of Yucatán there were 1,170 haciendas dedicated to the cultivation of henequen in the hands of only 193 families, leaving 96.4 percent of the population of Yucatán landless (Meyers, 2005). Even after the Land Reform of 1917 many *hacendados* purchased or confiscated land given to villages and *ejidos* increasing the size of their landholdings, and many times small landholders had to give back their land to the *hacienda,* since they lacked the necessary tools, seeds, and access to fresh water (Appendini, Murayama, & Domínguez, 1972).

The increasing size of the *haciendas* in Yucatán and the changes brought by the development of the henequen industry created an increase in the conflict between the upper class, the nascent middle class, and the working class. The Labor Law of 1915 in Yucatán attempted to decrease the growing class conflict. Yucatán conservative tendencies had created a slow judicial process that needed to be reorganized to keep up with the economic and social changes the states was experiencing during the first two decades of the 20th century. Some of the issues addressed by the new *Ley del Trabajo*

[35] *Hacendado* refers to the landowner.

(Labor Law) of 1915 included the establishment of a minimum salary that would be the same for men and women doing the same job (Roqueñi, 1974).

The 1915 Labor Law also established for maternity leave that guaranteed that women did not have to work thirty days prior to their delivery and thirty days after and that required employers to pay working mothers salary during their leave and to guarantee their position when they were ready to return to work (Roqueñi, 1974). Interestingly, the Labor Law limited the number of foreign employees that could be hired by any given entity to 50 percent of the labor force; the main goal was to ensure that jobs went to Mexican citizens primarily (Roqueñi, 1974). Other issues addressed by the Labor Law of 1915 were safety, working hours, child employment, overtime, vacation days, and the establishment of the Department of Work and the laws ensuring the creation of unions and the right to strike (Roqueñi, 1974). The Labor Law of 1915 also put an end to the ability of the *haciendas* to pay their employees in the *Tienda de Raya*. Nevertheless, it was not until the collapse of the henequen industry in the 1930s that the Labor Law of 1915 was enforced fully and widely.

In Yucatán and Campeche, a strong community organization linked to the economic and social structure of the *hacienda* hindered the growth of religious pluralism until the 1930s, when large landholdings were finally broken. Within the *hacienda* system, community members had to belong and actively participate in the social and cultural structures that ensured their participation in the redistribution of resources. Particularly in the case of Yucatán, the social and cultural structures were linked to Roman Catholic rituals. Even the *hacienda's* distinct layout, with the *casco*, being the center of the economic, social, cultural, and most importantly religious activities hindered the ability of individuals to choose a different religious affiliation. It was not until the

hacienda's system collapsed in the 1930s that religious pluralism began to grow in Yucatán.

However, the hacienda system did not hinder the development of religious pluralism in all cases. In the state of Tabasco, some foreign-born *hacendados* and even some local ranchers were also eager to receive Protestant materials to deliver among their workers and contacted workers from the American Bible society.

> "Some months ago a wealthy *hacendado* and mining man wrote to Valdez [Colporteur Valdez was working for Senor Ruiz in the Pacific Coast] that he wished him to bring a box of Bibles to the hacienda. He wished, he said, to "*moralize*" his people, and, though not himself a Christian, he considered the Bible the best book for their needs" (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907. 57).

In the state of Tabasco, when the first colporteur arrived in the City of Paraíso he was surprised to find that "two prominent *hacendados*, one an evangelical German and the other a Mexican" had already began work in the area (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1884. 21). The difference observed between the *hacienda's* experience in Tabasco and that of the *haciendas* in Yucatán and Campeche was then linked to the strength of the Roman Catholic Church within the community organization. The following section analyzes the economic development of Tabasco and its influence on the development of niches of Protestantism.

Fincas and Ejidos Contributed to the Growth of Protestantism in Tabasco

The economic development of the state of Tabasco followed a different pathway that contributed to the creation of religious pluralism. The main economic activities in the

state of Tabasco at the end of the 19th century focused on the exportation of tropical agricultural and forest products (Correa, 1899c). These economic activities were heavily dependent on foreign investment and markets. Among the products exported from Tabasco at the end of the 19th century were fine tropical woods, cattle, tobacco, cacao, and bananas (Correa, 1899c). Tropical agricultural products would become the main source of income to the region by the 1920s and it would continue to be until the oil industry became established in the 1940s (Martinez Assad 2006; Ridgeway 2001).

The period of prosperity that Mexico had experience during the Porfiriato ended with economic depression, political instability, and social unrest in 1910 and the following two decades brought social, political, and economic instability to Mexico (Florescano et al., 1988). However, it was during the period of civil unrest and religious revival that the educational, economic, and religious policies of Governor Tomás Garrido of Tabasco solidified the religious diversity of the region. During the fifteen years of leadership, Governor Garrido was able to transform the education system, created several cooperatives and unions and enforce a radical anticlerical movement all of which contributed to the creation of religious pluralism in the region (Bowen, 1996). Similarly, his economic policies ensured that the mono-cropping economy of the state benefited the government, the producers, and the workers (Ridgeway 2001).

Between 1920 and 1936, Governor Garrido created 176 cooperatives and unions (Martinez Assad, 2006). Among the most important of these cooperatives were the *Nacional Platanera*, S.C.L, the cooperative formed by all banana-producing enterprises in the area and the *Cooperativas de Transportes Fluviales*, a cooperative of the companies navigating the rivers in the state of Tabasco. The main two objectives behind these cooperatives were to ensure the most efficient production and distribution policies for the main resource generating products and services for the state and to prevent foreign

companies, such as the Standard Fruit Company, from forming a monopoly (Ridgeway 2001). These cooperative systems allowed Garrido's administration not only to set prices but also to establish reliable markets for products, particularly banana production. While producers and consumers were organized within the cooperatives, the workers formed several workers' leagues or unions all under the umbrella of the *Liga Central de Resistencia* or the Central Resistance Union.

In addition to organizing workers, the unions and cooperatives also served to set political and administrative policies. Workers' unions also allowed the state to implement and regulate employment laws, such as the establishment of minimum wages, work hours, workplace safety and sanitation, accident prevention, eliminate child labor, and abuse of female workers (Ridgeway 2001). Above all, the system of cooperatives and unions contributed to turning Tabasco into an efficient banana-producing enterprise by ensuring that the Standard Fruit Company and its subsidiaries had a reliable supply of fruit (Ridgeway 2001). Garrido's cooperatives and union system allowed him to regulate the banana industry ensuring the highest possible benefit from an unstable mono-crop economy and to use the revenues from that industry to better the quality of life of the people of Tabasco by investing in infrastructure, medical care, and education (Ridgeway 2001).

Finally, as early as the 1900s conversion in Tabasco was occurring among the growing but impoverished middle class which, tired of their constant poverty, marginalization, and alienation, began to view Protestantism as more in touch with their needs (Bastian, 2003; Penyak & Petry, 2006). People like Mr. Hermilio P., a tailor, and his wife, Ms. Luisa Hermilio a graduate of the Presbyterian School in Mexico City, who were in charge of running the church, the school, and to gather subscription for *El Faro*, a

Presbyterian weekly paper, were among those leaving the Roman Catholic traditions and becoming Protestants (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907. 55).

The economic development of the state of Tabasco followed a different pathway that contributed to the creation of religious pluralism. Prior to the last decade of the 19th century, the main economic activity in the state of Tabasco centered on subsistence agriculture and small production for the local markets. It was not until the last decade of the 19th century that economic activities depended upon foreign investment and markets. The government of Tabasco established policies that ensured the growth of the mono-cropping economy and began creating a growing but impoverished middle class, which began to view Protestantism as more in touch with their needs. In addition, legislation efforts, cooperatives, and unions ensured that communities were not centered within one overreaching Roman Catholic umbrella, and individuals were allowed to interact within different social circles, but also were allowed to belong to different religious organizations without missing in the distribution of resources.

SUMMARY

During the last two decades of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the states of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán experienced a series of social and economic changes that influenced their religious market place. Population characteristics, ethnic composition and migration, education, community organization, and economic development created a religious market were pluralism could take place in Tabasco as early as the 1880s, while Protestant denominations did not enter the religious field until the 1920s and 1930s when community organization began to change in Campeche and Yucatán.

The population characteristics of Tabasco allowed for the early settlement and strength of Protestant groups in the region (fig 3.2 above). The lack of ethnic groups in Tabasco as well as extensive European settlement during the colonial period limited the presence of the Roman Catholic Church and created a *vacant religious space* where religious pluralism could take place as early as the 1880. Furthermore, since by the period of early Protestant expansion in Tabasco the majority of the population spoke Spanish, Protestant religious organizations did not have to wait until materials have been translated

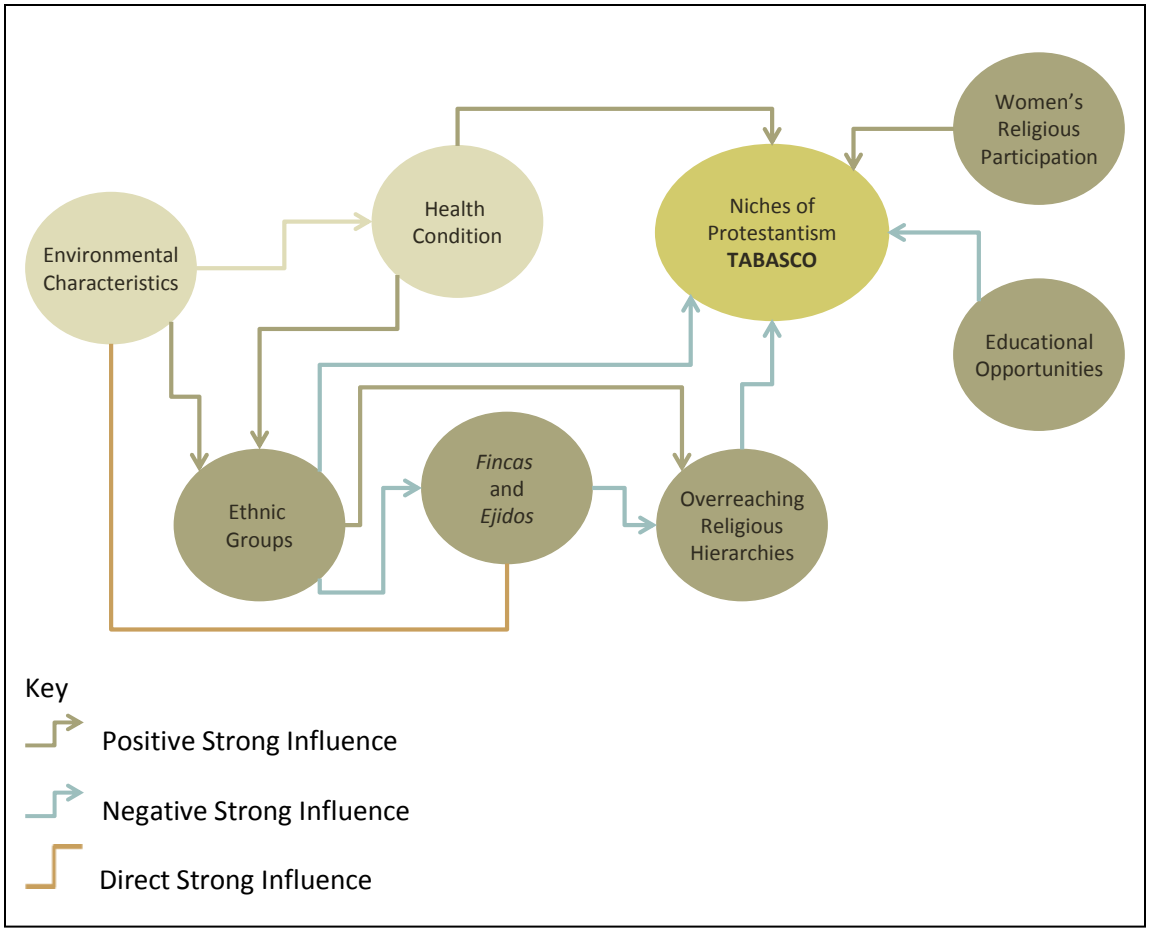

Figure 3.2. Model of Population Characteristics that Influence Niches of Protestantism in Tabasco

to the local language or until ministers who understood the local language and customs were available. Migration also influenced the creation of religious pluralism in Tabasco as Protestant ministers were able to move from one community to another as the needs of their denomination required and as new communities were forming after the economic development of the region.

Another aspect analyzed in this chapter was the role that the lack of educational institutions had on the early and strong presence of Protestant congregations in Tabasco. Since the lower levels of education observed in Tabasco between 1880 and 1920, compared with the case of Campeche and Yucatán, were linked to the weak presence of the Roman Catholic Church, the role that it had in Protestantism played a crucial role in the development of religious pluralism. Education in Mexico was mostly in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church well into the 1930s, and in the case of Tabasco, there was a considerable lack of religious organization that could provide the educational needs of people, particularly in rural communities. In this institutional differentiate space, Protestant congregations were able to fulfilled not only the spiritual needs of communities where the Roman Catholic Church had left a *vacuum,* but were also able to fulfill their worldly needs. Presbyterians were particularly successful in establishing schools in Tabasco, and in Yucatán at a later period, particularly since they were able to circumvent the secular position of the federal and state governments regarding education, by separating, to some degree, their spiritual teachings from their academic endeavors.

This chapter also explored how community organization and economic development influenced the creation of niches of Protestantism. In Tabasco the economic organization and development was strongly connected to and influenced by the United States. In Tabasco, communities (*fincas* and *ejidos*) were not organized under one overreaching economic, social, and cultural Roman Catholic system, as it was in the case

of the *haciendas* in Yucatán and Campeche, but were under more flexible social ties. In which individuals in Tabasco as early as the 1880s could belong to different social, cultural, and economic organizations without being completely left out in the distribution of resources. Furthermore, the economic development of Tabasco at the turn of the 20th century combined with the liberal policies of the state government created a community organization more open to religious pluralism.

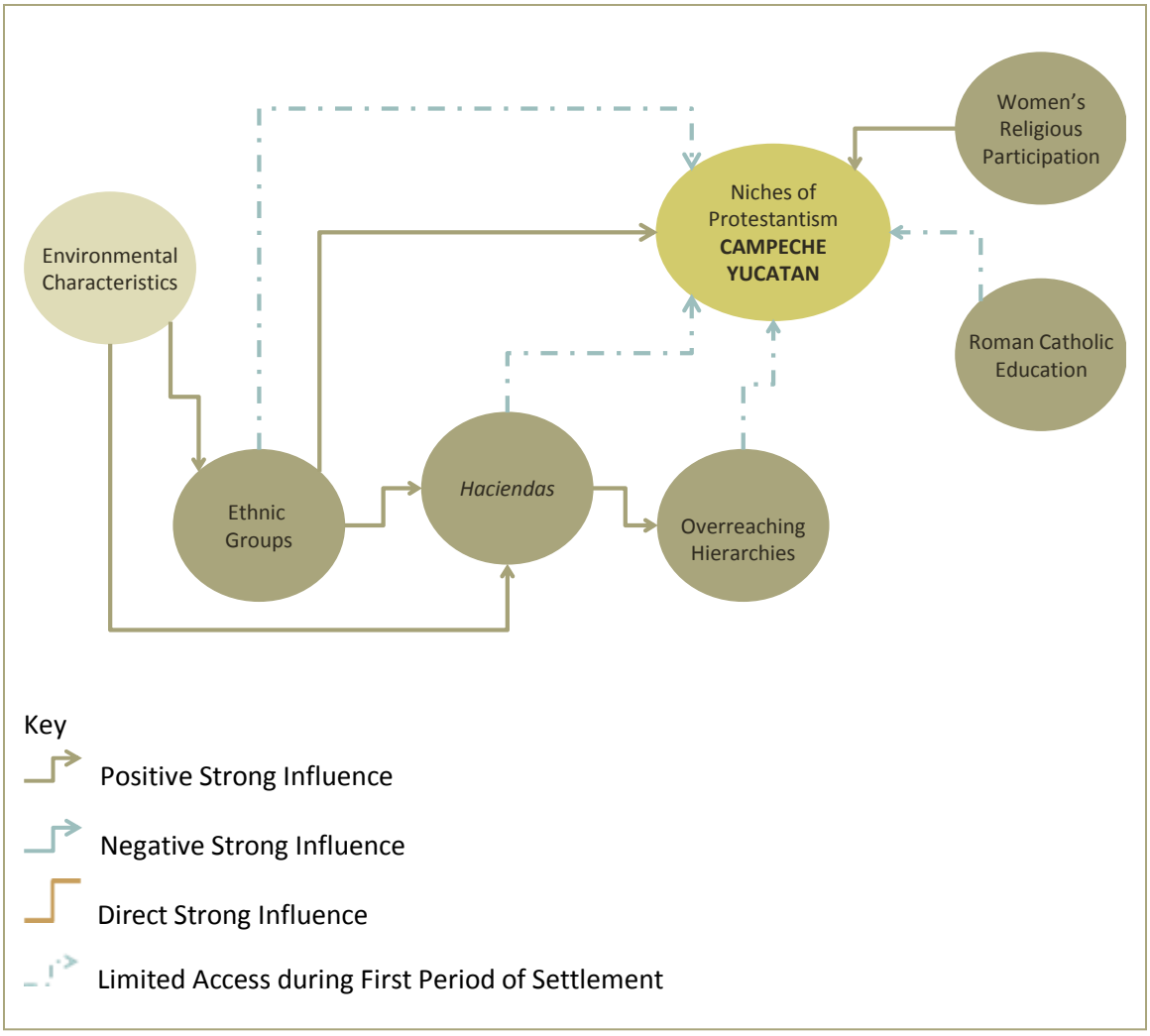

Figure 3.3. Model of Population Characteristics Influencing the Creation of Niches of Protestantism in Campeche and Yucatán

The Campeche and Yucatán experiences regarding the influence of population characteristics had significantly different at times (fig. 3.3 above). The ethnic and cultural differences observed in Campeche, Tabasco, Yucatán highlight why early Protestant groups grew in areas of low-ethnic presence in southern Mexico in contrast with the expansion of religious pluralism in Mexico after the 1960s. Ethnic communities in the Yucatán peninsula (in Campeche and Yucatán) had strong social, cultural, and economic ties centered on Roman Catholic traditions that had to be broken before religious pluralism could take place. On the contrary, in Tabasco, the lack of ethnic groups created a *vacuum* in the religious field and weak social, cultural, and economic ties that allowed Protestant groups to fulfill the spiritual and worldly needs of the communities.

The extensive economic *hacienda* systems in Yucatán and Campeche, centered on overreaching social and cultural ties and under the Roman Catholic Church influence, further restricted the ability of individuals to follow a different religious tradition. Unexpectedly, the *hacienda* system suffering from a lack of labor after the growth of the henequen industry opened the states in the Yucatán peninsula to an influx of immigrants with different religious traditions, such as Koreans following a Presbyterian tradition. The growth of the henequen industry and the changes in migration patterns in Yucatán and Campeche also created skewed sex ratios further influencing where religious pluralism could take place. Placing religious conversion in the hands of women allowed religious pluralism to grow in communities where women were the majority while hindering its development in the more rural areas where men outnumber females. The final aspect that limited the growth of Protestant organization in Campeche and Yucatán was the strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the education field.

The following chapter explores the role that the Roman Catholic Church played in the development of religious pluralism in the area and will seek to explain the mechanism

by which Protestant groups attained and maintained regional governmental support in southern niches of religious pluralism particularly with the growing secular tendencies of the federal government.

Chapter Four

Roman Catholic Landscape and Political Turmoil

As discussed in the two previous chapters, environmental and population characteristics contributed to the early and strong presence of Protestant missions in Tabasco while restricting their presence in Campeche and Yucatán until community organizations changed in the 1920s and 1930s. On the one hand, the environment and population characteristics of Tabasco contributed to the development of an economic and political connection with the ports in the United States. At the same time, those conditions hindered the presence of the Roman Catholic Church creating a *vacant religious space* where Protestant organizations could enter and fulfil the spiritual and practical needs of communities in the area as early as the 1880s. On the other hand, an environment conducive to extensive agriculture, a community organization with strong social, cultural, and economic ties to Roman Catholic rituals and traditions hindered the presence and growth of Protestant organizations in the Yucatán Peninsula until the 1920s and 1930s when economic and political turmoil drastically changed community organization.

This chapter seeks to shed light into how Protestant groups attained and maintained regional governmental support in southern niches of religious pluralism, particularly as anticlerical sentiments grew in Mexico during the 1920s and 1930s. To answer the above question, the first part of this chapter analyzes the institutional strength of the Roman Catholic Church in each one of the three selected cases as it relates to its ability to satisfy the spiritual and practical needs of the communities it served as well as its economic, cultural, and social power (fig. 4.1). The second part of this chapter, discusses the political turmoil that marked the consolidation of the secular state in

modern Mexico and how the anticlerical movement, particularly in Tabasco further contributed to the development of religious pluralism in the 1920s and 1930s. Third, this chapter focuses on the organization of denomination working in southern Mexico, the strength of its hierarchical structure and the importance given to local pastors and the laity in the creation of niches of Protestantism particularly in light of the creation of a new national identity after the Mexican Revolution.

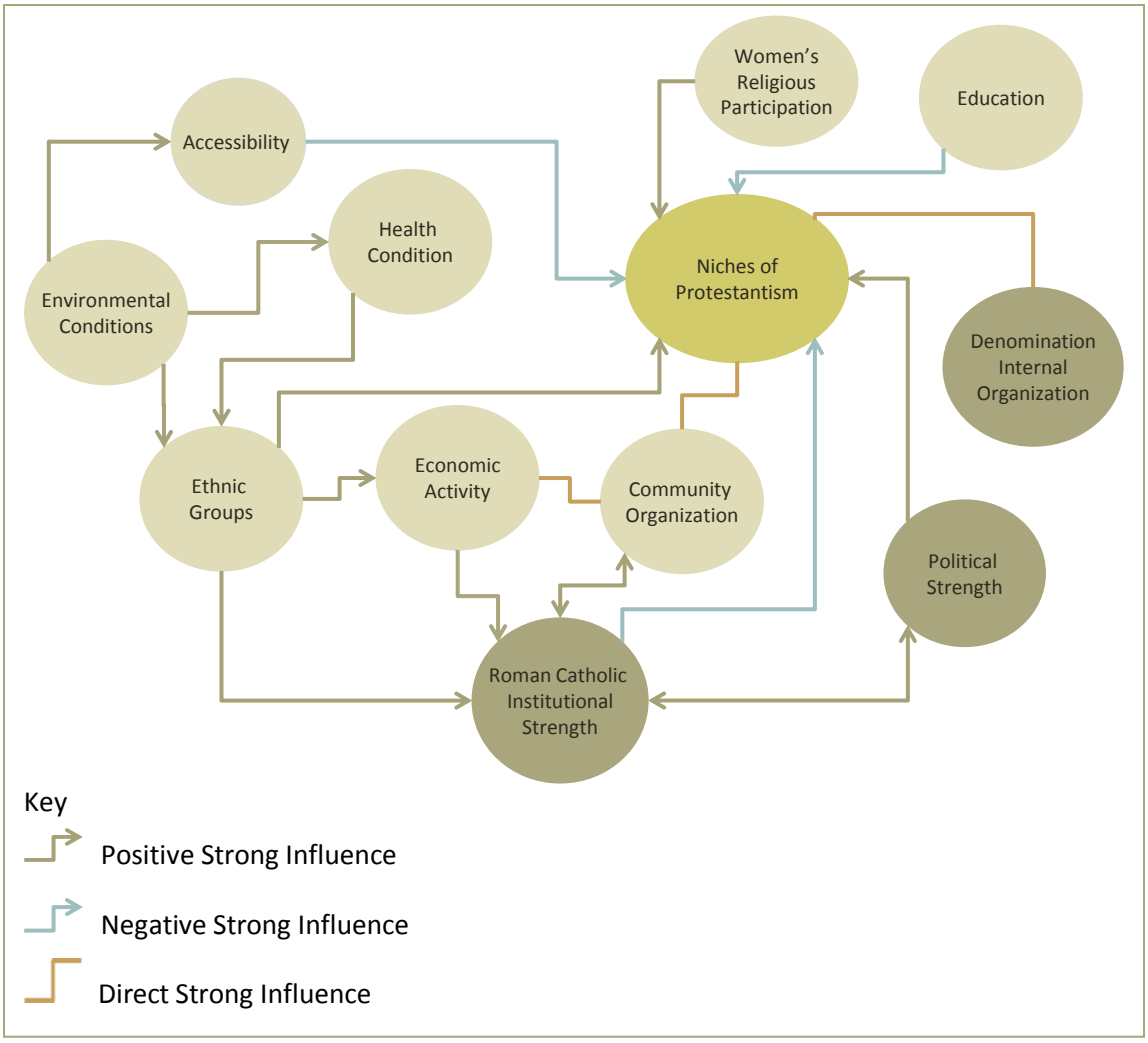

Figure 4.1. Model of the Roman Catholic Institutional Strength and Political Turmoil Influencing the Creation of Niches of Protestantism in Southern Mexico

THE INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTH OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Roman Catholic Church dominated the religious landscape of Mexico since colonial times. However, in the case of Tabasco the presence of the Roman Catholic Church was sporadic at best. Harsh environmental conditions, poor agricultural soils, pirate attacks, poor health conditions, and the considerable lack of ethnic groups and European settlements limited the presence and strength of Roman Catholic organizations. In the states of Campeche and Yucatán, the early development of cattle ranches, of *haciendas*, and the considerable presence of ethnic and European settlers created a religious market place dominated since colonial times by several Roman Catholic groups. Franciscan Missions in Yucatán grew considerably during the 1600s due to the increase in *capellanias*[36] established by wealthy families in order to ensure the prestige of their children and a place in the Roman Catholic Church (Perry & Perry, 1988). Even though, by the 1820s, most of the Franciscan Missions had been secularized and their property was confiscated by the state, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church had been consolidated and it had permeated in all aspects of social, cultural, and economic life in the Yucatán Peninsula.

While the port of Campeche opened the door to the Roman Catholic evangelization of Campeche, Yucatán, and Chiapas, the state of Yucatán, particularly the city of Mérida, served as the central administration core for the Roman Catholic Church. Until the 1880s, the territories of Campeche and Tabasco were under the Archdiocese of Yucatán, the See of Tabasco was formed in 1880 and the See of Campeche in 1895 (Crivelli, 1912). While there were three Franciscan monasteries in the state of Campeche

[36] Capellanias were private educational endowments established by wealthy families to ensure not only the educational opportunities of their children, but also a place in the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

and eleven Franciscan monasteries were in Yucatán at the beginning of the 19th century, no mendicant orders were present in the state of Tabasco (Florescano et al., 1988). The lack of Roman Catholic Religious Orders in Tabasco was likely linked to the low population density, the lack of a significant indigenous population and the sparseness of Spanish settlements during colonial times. The presence of mendicant orders was significantly higher in bordering states, which have higher population densities, large indigenous populations, and where Spaniards were forming communities. In the state of Oaxaca there were eighteen monasteries, one belonging to the Augustinian Order and the rest to the Dominicans (Florescano et al., 1988). In the state of Chiapas, there was one Franciscan and four Dominican monasteries and in the state of Veracruz, there were four monasteries, one of which belonged to the Franciscan Order and three belonged to the Augustinian Order (Florescano et al., 1988).

Places of Worship

Beyond the presence of mendicant orders, the strength of the Roman Catholic Church can be measured by the number of churches in each of the three selected cases. In Tabasco, several Roman Catholic churches and other religious buildings were destroyed during the constant pirate attacks and the American and French wars. During the Mexican American War in 1846, American troops under Matthew C. Perry destroyed the Roman Catholic church in Frontera and attacked and damaged the *Catedral del Señor de Tabasco*[37] and the *Templo de la Concepcion* in San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) (Arbingast et al., 1975). In 1859, during the French Invasion, the *Catedral del Señor de Tabasco* was destroyed (Arbingast et al., 1975; Martinez-Assad, 2006). Even though,

[37] Also referred as the *Iglesia del Señor de Esquipulas*.

during the United States occupation several Roman Catholic buildings were damaged or destroyed in Tabasco, it was also during this period that Protestant ideas first entered the southern Mexican religious fields. It was during the American War that Rev. Norris, an agent of the American Bible Society placed "scriptures in the hands of families in the cities of [Veracruz], Jalapa, Puebla and Mexico city" (Dwight, 1916 p. 220).

Table 4.1 details the number of Roman Catholic Churches during the first period of interest, 1880-1910. In 1878, there were fifty-six Roman Catholic churches in Campeche and 178 churches reported in Yucatán, but none were reported in the state of Tabasco (INEGI, 1877-1910). Although, it is unlikely that there were no Roman Catholic places of worship in Tabasco, it is more likely that none were registered with the state, as it was required by law. During the presidency of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada (1872-1876), a series of anticlerical policies attempted to limit the power of the Roman Catholic. According to the anticlerical laws, priests were required to register with the state, to declare their loyalty to the Mexican Constitution, and were prohibited from wearing their vestments in public and from celebrating any religious rituals outside the registered church buildings (de la Fuente Monge, 1997).

Table 4.1. Churches in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán between 1878 and 1910

State	1878		1895		1900		1910	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Campeche	56	1.16	250	2.61	187	1.53	187	1.51
Tabasco	0	0	62	0.65	110	0.90	83	0.67
Yucatán	178	3.68	429	4.48	490	4.01	415	3.34
Mexico	4839	100.00	9580	100.00	12225	100.00	12413	100.00

Source:
Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910. 1956 INEGI

According to the 1895 Population Census, there were 250 Roman Catholic churches the state of Campeche which accounts for 2.61 percent of the total number of Roman Catholic churches in Mexico (INEGI, 1877-1910). In the same year there were sixty-two Roman Catholic places of worship in Tabasco which only accounted for 0.65 percent of the Roman Catholic Churches in Mexico (INEGI, 1877-1910). Even though, the Yucatán peninsula was under civil war (*Guerra de Castas*)[38] between 1847 and 1901, there were 429 churches in Yucatán, which accounted for 4.5 percent of the total Roman Catholic places of worship in the country in 1895 (INEGI, 1877-1910). The same source reports one Protestant congregation working in the city of Mérida, Yucatán and several Protestant congregations well established in the state of Tabasco. According to the Annual Report of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, there were Presbyterian congregations in Frontera, San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), Paraíso, Comalcalco, Arroyo Hondo, and Cárdenas in Tabasco. In the state of Yucatán, one organized Presbyterian congregation was in Mérida, however a small unorganized group meet regularly in the port of Progreso (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church*, 1895).

Five years later, in 1900, the number of Roman Catholic places of worship reported in Campeche declined from 250 to 187, while in the states of Tabasco the number had increased to 110. However it was the state of Yucatán that experienced the largest growth from 429 in 1895 to 490 in 1900 (*Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). By 1910 at the onset of the Mexican Revolution, in Campeche the

[38] *La Guerra de Castas* (1847-1901) was an armed conflict between the Maya followers of the "Talking Cross" of Chan Santa Cruz in the current state of Quintana Roo and the growing sugar plantation owners in the Southern and Western part of the Yucatán Peninsula that were taking more and more of the indigenous lands for the commercial production of sugar. The *Guerra the Castas* had also a strong religious component that needs to be address since it gave birth to several indigenous rituals that eventually consolidated into a cohesive Mayan Catholic religion. However, that analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

number of places of worship remained the same (187) while in the state of Tabasco their numbers declined to eighty-three while Roman Catholics in Yucatán had 415 places of worship (INEGI, 1877-1910). During the tenure of Bishop Martín Tritshler (1902-1910), the Dioceses ordered the reconstruction and repair of many churches and *capillas de indios*[39] that had been damaged during the *Guerra de Castas* (1847-1901) and ordered the construction of several new structures (Savarino, 1997). In the same year, there were ten Roman Catholic Churches per 1,000 square kilometers in Yucatán. In the state of Campeche there were four places of worship per 1,000 square kilometers, while in the state of Tabasco, there were only three churches per 1,000 square kilometers.

However, the numbers of Roman Catholic places of worship per state does not provide a complete picture of their presence in the three cases. Table 4.2 shows the number of Roman Catholic places of worship in 1895, 1900, and 1910 per 10,000 inhabitants. In all three cases, the state of Campeche had the highest number of places of worship compared to the other two cases per inhabitants. In the state of Tabasco, on the contrary, there were only four places of worship per 10,000 people in 1895, almost seven in 1900, and only four in 1910. In 1895, there were twenty-eight places of worship per 10,000 inhabitants and in twenty-one in 1900 and in 1910. In the state of Yucatán, there were fourteen places of worship per every 10,000 people in 1895, almost sixteen in 1900, and twelve in 1910 (Estadística, 1895, 1900, 1910; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956).

[39] *Capilla de Indios* is a type of Roman Catholic religious space that began to be constructed in Mexico during the early colonial period to accommodate large number of people attending Sunday services and other festivities. The *Capilla de Indios* also called *Capilla Abierta* or "open chapel" consists of an open presbytery large only enough to hold the altar and that opened to a large atrium or plaza.

Table 4.2. Churches per 10,000 Inhabitants by State in 1895, 1900 and 1910

States	1895		
	Total Population (2)	Roman Catholic Churches (1)	Churches per 10,000 Inhabitants
Campeche	89 001	250	28.09
Tabasco	135 869	62	4.56
Yucatán	300 331	429	14.28
Mexico	12 841 148	9 580	7.46
	1900		
	Total Population (3)	Roman Catholic Churches (1)	Churches per 10,000 Inhabitants
Campeche	86 542	187	21.61
Tabasco	159 834	110	6.88
Yucatán	309 652	490	15.82
Mexico	13 607 259	12 225	8.98
	1910		
	Total Population (4)	Roman Catholic Churches (1)	Churches per 10,000 Inhabitants
Campeche	86 661	187	21.58
Tabasco	187 574	83	4.42
Yucatán	339 613	415	12.22
Mexico	15 160 369	12 413	8.19

Source:
(1) Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910. INEGI
(2) Censo General de la República Mexicana 1885. Tabulados Básicos. DGE
(3) Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados Básicos. DGE
(4) Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados Básicos. DGE

According to the 1910 Population Census, the municipality with the largest number of Roman Catholic places of worship in Campeche was Hecelchakán in Campeche with a total of forty-four places of worship and twelve more under

construction[40] (Estadística, 1910). In the state of Tabasco, the municipality of San Juan Bautista, where the capital is located, reported the highest number of Roman Catholic places of worship one cathedral, one *parroquia*, nine churches, and one *capilla* (Estadística, 1910). Finally, in the state of Yucatán, the municipality of Mérida, where the capital is located, had fifty-four Roman Catholic places of worship, which one cathedral, four *parroquias*, twenty churches, twenty-six *capillas*, three *oratorios*, and three more under construction (Estadística, 1910).

Even though, there were no places of worship reported in the *partido* Del Carmen in Campeche, there were at least two Roman Catholic Churches in Ciudad Del Carmen, both built in the 18th century: the *Iglesia de Jesús* and the *Iglesia de Nuestra Señora del Carmen* (Bernés, 2010). In the state of Yucatán the *partidos* of Progreso, Sotuta, and Tizimín reported the lowest number of Roman Catholic places of worship with four, six, and seven respectively (Estadística, 1910). In the state of Tabasco, of the seventeen municipalities only six had more than five places of worship (Estadística, 1910). It is not surprising that the biggest difference between the places of worship amongst the three cases is due to the lack of *Capillas* in Tabasco, since *Capillas* were more common in communities with a large indigenous population and with large population densities. In Tabasco, there were only ten *capillas*, while there were eighty-six *capillas* in Campeche and in Yucatán there were 187 (Estadística, 1910). Finally, the only registered non-Roman Catholic place of worship according to the 1910 census was in the city of Mérida (Estadística, 1910).

[40] For a complete list of the places of worship by municipality see Appendix 4.1

Religious Publications

Another measure used to analyze the strength of the Roman Catholic Church in southern Mexico was the availability of religious materials. Although it was not part of the Roman Catholic tradition for the laity to read the Bible during the research period, or to be familiar with the scripture beyond the guidelines of the priest, Roman Catholic Bibles were beyond the reach of the average person. The first publication of the first Roman Catholic Bible in Mexico occurred in 1833 (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907). The twenty-five volumes in Latin reportedly cost $200 pesos, making it impossible for the average citizen to acquire it. The Bible published by the American Bible Society at the turn of the 20th century was in Spanish and the small single volume cost only twenty cents to publish in 1907 (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907).

While there were no Roman Catholic publications being produced in Campeche or in Tabasco during the first and second periods of interest, several were printed and distributed in the state of Yucatán by private and state owned printing shops (Savarino, 1997). In 1905 Bishop Tritshler began publishing a monthly bulletin (*Boletín del Obispado*), which was sent to all clergy in the state (Savarino, 1997). During the first decade of the 20th century, four more Roman Catholic publications were printed and distributed in the state, *La verdad, El diario Yucateco, El canlendario Espinosa* and *La revista de Mérida*.

Priests and Ministers

The final element used to analyze the strength of the Roman Catholic Church and its effect on the creation of religious pluralism in southern Mexico, particularly during the early period of settlement, was the number of priests and their connection to their flock.

Table 4.3 shows the number of Roman Catholic priests and the number of Protestant ministers in each state in 1895, 1900, and 1910, as well as the number of priests and ministers present at the capital cities and other cities in 1900. While the presence of Roman Catholic priests was strong in Campeche and Yucatán the experience of Tabasco was considerably different.

The religious landscape in Campeche was dominated by the Roman Catholic tradition since colonial times. It was from the port of Campeche that the evangelization efforts of the Roman Catholic Church began and advanced to Chiapas and Yucatán (Ricard, 1966). In 1895, there only twelve priests registered in the state of Campeche each serving on average 7,417 people, no Protestant ministers were registered in the state. In 1900, there were ten more priests in Campeche (twenty-two) and since the population declined slightly, there were now 3,934 people per Roman Catholic priest. Similarly to the case of Yucatán, of the twenty-two priests in the Campeche, nine were assigned to the capital, each serving on average 1,901 people (Estadística, 1900; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). At the onset of the Mexican Revolution, there were only eight priests registered in the state of Campeche, less than one per 10,000 inhabitants while there were nine Protestant ministers working in the state, however long-term Protestant mission stations were not successful (Estadística, 1910; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956).

Table 4.3. Priests and Ministers per State, Capital, and Available Cities in 1895, 1900, and 1910

State Capital Other Cities	1895 Population (2)	Priests (1)	Percent	Priest per 10,000 Inhabitants	Number of People per Priest	Ministers (1)
Campeche	89 001	12	0.34	1.35	7 417	0
Tabasco	135 869	22	0.62	1.62	6 176	4
Yucatán	300 331	78	2.18	2.60	3 850	1
Mexico	12 841 148	3 576	100.00	2.78	3 591	190
	1900 Population (2)	Priests (1)	Percent	Priest per 10,000 Inhabitants	Number of People per Priest	Ministers (1)
Campeche	86 542	22	0.56	2.54	3 934	0
Campeche	17 109	9	0.23	5.26	1 901	0
Tabasco	159 834	24	0.61	1.50	6 660	2
San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa)	10 543	16	0.41	15.18	659	0
Cárdenas	-	-	-	-	-	1
Comalcalco	-	-	-	-	-	1
Yucatán	309 652	76	1.94	2.45	4 074	1
Mérida	43 630	40	1.02	9.17	1 091	1
Mexico	13 607 259	3915	100.00	2.88	3 476	N/A
	1910 Population (2)	Priests (1)	Percent	Priest per 10,000 Inhabitants	Number of People per Priest	Ministers (1)
Campeche	86 661	8	0.18	0.92	10 833	9
Tabasco	187 574	25	0.56	1.33	7 503	5
Yucatán	339 613	104	2.33	3.06	3 266	11
Mexico	15 160 369	4461	100.00	2.94	3 398	N/A

Sources:
(1) Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910. 1956 INEGI
(2) Censo General de la República Mexicana 1885. Tabulados Básicos. DGE
(3) Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados Básicos. DGE
(4) Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados Básicos. DGE

In 1895, the state of Yucatán had the highest number of priests of the three cases. There were a total of twelve priests, one per every 3,850 people while there was only one

Protestant minister recorded (Estadística, 1895; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). Although the Roman Catholic Church dominated the religious field in Yucatán, there was a marked difference between the urban and rural areas. In 1889, a priest visiting the less urban west side of the state observed that adults in Yucatán had stopped practicing almost all Roman Catholic sacred sacraments, except for baptism, and complained that many couples in indigenous communities refused to get married (Savarino, 1997). The religious market place of Yucatán did not change dramatically in five-years. Of the seventy-six priests in the state, each one serving on average 4,076 people, forty resided in the capital and served on average 1,091 people (table 4.3). One Protestant minister was reported to be residing in the city of Mérida (Estadística, 1900; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). However, mostly due to the efforts of Bishop Tritshler, the number of priests increased to 104 serving on average 3,266 parishioners while the number of ministers increased to eleven (Estadística, 1910; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956).

During Tritshler's tenure, the tension between priests and their flock began to grow and religious participation declined. The first reason behind the increasing tensions was the large percentage of foreign-born priests that were not able to speak Yucatecan Maya, while almost sixty percent of the population in Yucatán only spoke the indigenous language (Estadística, 1910; Savarino, 1997). A second reason for the growing distance between the priest and his flock was the increasing cost associated with some of the sacraments, particularly marriage (Matthew Butler, 2009). The third and final reason for the decline in Roman Catholic religious participation was the failure of the more orthodox foreign-born priests to comprehend local rituals and traditions that had evolved in indigenous communities during colonial times without the supervision of Roman Catholic priests (Savarino, 1997).

In the state of Yucatán, even after the efforts of Bishop Tritshler, the tension between priests and parishioners increased and by the 1920s, as the anticlerical movement began, the number of churchgoers attending services and those taking communion had declined considerably. According to the *Informes Parroquiales* requested by Tritshler by 1913 only sixty to eighty percent of people attended religious services in Mérida and Maxcanú (Savarino, 1997). Between 1909 and 1912 the people who took communion in the city of Peto, seventy-five miles southwest of Mérida, dropped from 59.3 to 6.8 percent (Savarino, 1997). Starting in 1910 religious attendance and participation began to decline in almost all indigenous communities in Yucatán. The anticlerical movement of the 1920s and 1930s further diminished the presence of priests in Mexico. In 1930 there were a total of 4,360 priests registered in Mexico, but five years later, in 1935 there were only 305 (de la Fuente Monge, 1997).

In the state of Tabasco in 1895 there were a total of twenty-two priests on average each serving 6,176 people, but at the end of the 19th century there were already four Protestant ministers practicing in the state (Estadística, 1895; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). The difference between rural and urban areas was also observed since of the twenty-four priests assigned to the parishes in Tabasco, sixteen resided at the capital, San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) leaving eight to care for people living in seventeen municipalities (Estadística, 1900; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). It is not surprising then that by 1900 there were already Protestant congregations in Paraíso, Frontera, Cárdenas, Comalcalco, Arroyo Hondo, and two ministers one in the city of Comalcalco and one in the city of Cárdenas (Estadística, 1900; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956). It was not only in Yucatán that tensions between priests and parishioners took place. At the *Rancho Jesús María,* the thirty-five members of the small Protestant congregation confided to the visiting minister

in 1886 that other members of the community have become dissatisfied with their priest. The reason given for their dissatisfaction was that the priest "meddles too much with their business in things which do not concern him" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886 p. 35).

While the number of priests increased in Yucatán under the tenure of Governor Molina and Bishop Tritshler, in the state of Tabasco the number of priests declined further after the strong anticlerical measures of Governor Garrido. In 1917, Garrido limited the number of Roman Catholic priests to one for each 30,000 inhabitants. In 1925, Garrido took his anticlerical policies even further when he limited to "six the number of priests who could perform religious worship" in the state and required that priests were of Mexican birth, "good moral order," and that they got married (Martinez-Assad, 2006 p. 175). In 1925, fourteen priests left the state and sought refuge in Florida, while five more had been incarcerated for refusing to follow the marriage laws (Bantjes, 1997; Martinez-Assad, 2006; Press, 1925). By 1929, the local legislature limited once more the number of priests per inhabitant to one priest for every 100,000 people. In 1930, the total population of the Tabasco was 224,023 people therefore the new law will only allow two priests to deliver the Roman Catholic message in the state of Tabasco (Martinez-Assad, 2006).

Although the Roman Catholic Church dominated the religious landscape of Mexico by the middle of the 19th century, their presence and strength was not homogenous. Of the three selected cases, the Roman Catholic presence was strong in Yucatán and Campeche, while the presence of the Roman Catholic Church in Tabasco was more fragile. In Yucatán and Campeche, the early development of cattle ranches and *haciendas* and the considerable presence of ethnic and European settlers attracted earlier the interest of colonial and Roman Catholic organizations. In the case of Tabasco, the

lack of land suitable for agriculture, the sporadic presence of indigenous groups, and the poor health conditions limited the early and consistent presence of Roman Catholic organizations creating a *vacuum* in the religious field where pluralism could develop.

Furthermore, Campeche and Yucatán served at different time as the central administration of the Roman Catholic Church, had a greater number of places of worship, and a greater number of priests and publications serving the people in the selected cases. Even as the tensions between foreign-born priests and indigenous congregations began to increase, the state made considerable efforts to establish a conciliatory relationship. However, in the state of Tabasco the legislature restricted the power of the Roman Catholic Church by limiting the number of priests, requiring them to be of Mexican origin and to get married, and by persecuting them if they did not comply. The following section analyzes how the state further influencing the creation of niches of Protestantism during the anticlerical period between 1910 and 1930.

POLITICAL TURMOIL: THE ANTICLERICAL SENTIMENTS AND THE *CRISTERO* REBELLION

During the first decades of the 19th century, the tensions between the emerging nation states and the Roman Catholic Church began to intensify in Latin America in general and in Mexico in particular. The first laws establishing the separation of the state and the Roman Catholic Church took place first in countries where the church was the weakest, such as Río de la Plata, Uruguay, and Venezuela (de la Fuente Monge, 1997; Penyak & Petry, 2006). However, by the end of the 19th century anticlerical laws were present even in countries where the Roman Catholic Church was strong such as Peru, Chile, Colombia, Brazil, and Mexico (de la Fuente Monge, 1997; Penyak & Petry, 2006).

Several attempts at secularization occurred in Mexico in 1833; however, it was not until 1857 and 1860 that the *Leyes de Reforma* established the separation of the Church and State[41]. The *Leyes de Reforma* aimed to first stimulate the economy by confiscating property belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Secondly, the laws created a civil population registry and the secularization of social organizations such as hospitals, charitable organizations, and schools. Finally, it established freedom of religion (Canovas, 1987; de la Fuente Monge, 1997; Vigil, 1979). Although the government attempted to enforce the anticlerical articles of the 1857 Mexican Constitution, the Roman Catholic Church retained much of its power. In 1892 a Presbyterian minister reported that priests in Mexico had banned the parishioners from investing or occupying Roman Catholic properties that have been confiscated by the state and ordered them not to follow the civil marriage laws required by the state (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1892). The following section analyzes how the anticlerical policies outlined by the 1917 Mexican Constitution and the *Cristero* Rebellion contributed to the creation of niches of religious pluralism in the three selected cases.

It is important to note that the anticlerical movements taking place between 1910 and 1930 were not antireligious. It was during this time of conflict between the state and the Roman Catholic Church that Mexico received its largest Jewish migration, that Mennonites from Canada and Russia settled in Northern Mexico, and it was during this time that the government created the *Iglesia Apostólica Católica Mexicana* (Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church) (Blancarte, 2009; Matthew Butler, 2009). Contrary to the Roman Catholic Church, the Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church relied only on

[41] Appendix 4.2 provides a background to the anticlerical movements taking place in Mexico during the 19th century.

voluntary alms-giving, offered free sacraments, services in Latin were prohibited, religious taxes were abolished, and encourage the free interpretation of the bible (Matthew Butler, 2009).

Although the changes made within the Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church ensured more economic freedom for the poor, the need for the priests to get closer to their following and create more similarities with the growing Protestant message, the Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church failed to obtain widespread support and the lack of official status forced it to disintegrate in the 1930s. It was also during this period that Protestant affiliation was found for the first time in different regions of Mexico and it was during this period of extreme tension between the state and the Roman Catholic Church that individuals were able to define their spirituality within the context of a new economic, political, and cultural context (Matthew Butler, 2009).

Tabasco: Anticlerical Policies as a Source of Religious Diversity

The anticlerical tone of the 1917 Mexican Constitution reflected the desire of the more liberal ideology to keep all Roman Catholic organizations out of the public sphere, particularly out of the political and economic structures of the emerging nation state, and to relegate worship and devotion to the private sphere. The 1917 Constitution allowed the state legislature to determine the number of priests under its jurisdiction, eliminated all Roman Catholic Church property not used for religious rituals, restricted the presence and power of religious orders, and indirectly ensured freedom of religion (Penyak & Petry, 2006).

Tabasco was the only southern state in which anticlerical movements were violent starting in the 1920s and lasting until the tenure of Governor Garrido ended in 1936. The

anticlerical movement in Tabasco, although violent, was not antireligious. In 1907, colporteur Cortez working in Tabasco reported:

> "[A]fter selling a Bible and a Testament in the house of a liberal captain of the rurales, Mexico's mounted police, the captain accompanied him to the door, and, giving him the cordial Mexican embrace, said: "Senor Cortez, in every colporteur who does his duty I see another Juarez[42], sowing laws of reform for the people. You bring the laws of God, superior to and more important than those of political reform. You are carrying on a most difficult and dangerous work in this country, and for this reason I say you are doing the work of a Juarez" Cortes says, "In that moment a knot was in my throat and I could not say a word" (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907 p. 66).

The anticlerical sentiments in the state of Tabasco, if not openly, provided religious freedom at the individual level by limiting the economic, politic, and cultural power that the Roman Catholic Church still had at the institutional level and ultimately allowed for the strengthening of religious diversity in the region particularly during the first period of interest. During the second period of interest, Governor Garrido's anticlerical policies centered on three main aspects of religion and contributed directly and indirectly to the religious pluralism and religious revival observed during the 1920s and 1930s.

Firstly, Garrido's policies limited the number of Roman Catholic places of worship at a time when Protestant places of worship were increasing in number. During his tenure, many Roman Catholic Churches were closed, destroyed, or converted into elementary schools and even turned into Protestant places of worship. In 1928, Governor Garrido closed the Cathedral of Tabasco, known as *La Iglesia del Señor de Esquipulas* that was destroyed during the United States war in 1859 and reconstructed in 1880

[42] This passage refers to President Benito Juarez (1867-1872) who along with President Juan Alvarez (1855-1855) and President Ignacio Comonfort (1855-1858) created the Leyes the Referma limiting the economic and political power of the Roman Catholic Church. For more information, see appendix 4.2.

(Martinez-Assad, 2006). Two years later in 1930, the Cathedral was burned and turned into a school and finally in 1934 completely destroyed along with the Church of Santa Cruz and several others also in the capital San Juan Bautista as well as the towers of the Roman Catholic Church in the city of Canduacán (Bantjes, 1997; Martinez-Assad, 2006). In 1930, sixty-eight Roman Catholic Churches had been converted into elementary schools across the state of Tabasco, and only fourteen were dedicated to Roman Catholic religious rituals (Ramos, 2005; Savarino, 1997).

During Garrido's tenure, only one Protestant church was closed in the city of Paraíso. The reason given for closing the church was that the Presbyterian pastor, Solomon R. Diaz, did not "comply with the law stipulating that worship would not be done in public" (Martinez-Assad, 2006. 204). Since many of the Roman Catholic rituals were linked to public spaces, restricting rituals to the registered buildings only served to increase the conflict between members of the Roman Catholic Church and the civil authority. Conversely, the same policies opened the field to religious traditions and expressions that took place in the private sphere, as it is the case of the Protestant traditions growing in the state of Tabasco at that time: Presbyterian, Assemblies of God, and Methodist.

Secondly, Garrido's policies requiring priests to be of Mexican origin and married, effectively limited the number of priests and provided local Protestant ministers with an advantage. The anticlerical laws limiting the number of priests had also an immense effect at the national level. By 1935 there were only 305 priests legally registered in Mexico, and in seventeen states all priests had been expelled (Bantjes, 1997). In the state of Tabasco, Governor Garrido ordered the persecution and incarceration of priests who refused to comply with the above laws. In 1925, fourteen

priests fled the state of Tabasco and seek refuge in Florida, while five were incarcerated (Press, 1925).

Conversely, local Protestant ministers, such as Sr. José Coffín of the Presbyterian Church, a native of the city of Paraíso and a graduate of the Presbyterian School and Seminary in Mexico City, was able to build strong ties with the civil government. Minister Coffín started working in Tabasco in 1907 and by 1922 he was not only heading one of the largest and strongest Protestant stations in southern Mexico, he was also the mayor of the town of Paraíso (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US*, 1922.351). While the government offered little tolerance to Roman Catholic priests, ministers from Protestant organizations encountered little resistance even before the strong anticlerical policies of Governor Garrido. In 1907 Mr. Magaña, a local agent of the American Bible Society visiting Rev. Coffín reported his experience in Tabasco:

> "I went all through the town [San Juan Bautista] without receiving a single insult, and talked about the Bible in every house without the least [impairment]; even the priest himself saluted me courteously. To be sure, for several years I have distributed tracts there without difficulty. I visited also the neighboring towns and principal haciendas, and believe that later, when I make another visit, I will sell more books than I did this time" (*Annual Report of the American Bible Society*, 1907. 56).

Thirdly, Governor Garrido with the aid of youth and teacher's organizations eliminated much of the Roman Catholic symbolism not only in public spaces, but also in the private sphere. In 1924, Garrido established the newspaper *Redención* and used it not only to advance his educational policies by publishing along with the newspaper, weekly pamphlets that could be turned into a book on topics including agriculture, ranching, child education, health, and alphabetization similar to those published by Protestant

organizations during the early settlement period (Martinez-Assad, 2006). The newspaper *Redención* was also used to invite people to participate in "*actos de fe*" where religious items were burned, to theatrical presentations that exposed the dangers of religious lies and the influence of alcohol (Martinez-Assad, 2006; Savarino, 1997). During one of Garrido's "*actos de fe*" celebrated on December 12[43] in 1931 more than two thousand saints and other religious images were burnt in the town of Jalapa in the state of Tabasco alone. In several cases, saints were replaced by images of revolutionary heroes (Bantjes, 1997).

Religious festivals were also targeted and in many instances replaced by civic rituals such as *Domingos Culturales* (cultural Sundays) or *Fiestas Patrias* (patriotic festivals) and the state even ordered that official holidays could not coincide with religious festivals (Bantjes, 1997; Martinez-Assad, 2006). In Tabasco secular festivals, such as agricultural fairs highlighting local products were organized to replaced festivals dedicated to the towns' patron Saint (Bantjes, 1997). It is interesting to note the similarity between Garrido's cultural Sundays and patriotic festivals to a Protestant practice first reported in Chihuahua in 1906 during the centennial celebration of the birth of Benito Juarez. In 1906, the people of Chihuahua celebrated the centennial birth of Benito Juarez by placing a sign on the building where he stopped. The Roman Catholic Bishop prohibited the participation of all Roman Catholics in the celebrations. However, "the preceding evening a '*velada civica'* was held in the [Protestant] church before and intensely patriotic audience, many of whom had never before crossed the mission's threshold" (*Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1906 p. 181).

[43] December 12 is one of the most important religious holidays in Mexico since it is the day when the Saint Patron of Mexico, *La Virgen de Guadalupe* is honored.

Garrido's anticlerical policies weakened the Roman Catholic and at the same time allowed for the consolidation of the Protestant landscape. Garrido's policies that limited the economic and cultural influence of the Roman Catholic Church included one the persecution and incarceration of priests. Second, he ordered the systematic destruction of religious items and the closing or burning of Roman Catholic buildings. Third, Garrido changed religious festivities into civil events and recreated a secular topography by ordering that towns with religious names be renamed in honor of national or local heroes of the Mexican Revolution. Fourth, Garrido gave the Roman Catholic building in Paraíso to the Presbyterian denomination (Bantjes, 1997; Bowen, 1996; Martinez-Assad, 2006; Press, 1925; Savarino, 1997). However, it was not only during the second period of interest that the Roman Catholic lost power and influence, even during the early period of settlement the state of Tabasco had much more liberal policies than the two cases in the Yucatán Peninsula.

In 1904, Mr. Coffín reported his impressions of the state at the Presbyterian Church in the United States annual meeting:

> "Tabasco is one of the most liberal States in the Republic. The State is open to the preacher wherever he goes. We have some of the most wealthy members in this State. We have some of our largest congregations in Tabasco, and can count on as large a proportion at attendance as in any field I have visited" (*Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1904a. 231).

In this context, a liberal state is associated with "the freedom of conscience and the free exercise of one's religion" (Romero, 1898. 95). The *Reseña Económica del Estado* published in 1899 describes Tabasco as free of religious fanatics, with more than "two thousand Protestant and many free-thinkers" (Correa, 1899a. 42 author's translation). Furthermore, Correa declared that the "[g]overnment is not devoted to any

religion, but it ensures the free exercise of all religious traditions taking place inside religious buildings" (Correa, 1899a. 42 author's translation).

Yucatán's New National Identity Based on Roman Catholic Traditions

There was a substantial difference between the efforts of modernization in Tabasco and those in Yucatán and Campeche. The government of Tabasco consistently undermined the Roman Catholic Church's power and encouraged the development of religious pluralism. The states in the Yucatán Peninsula took advantage of the infrastructure already established by the Roman Catholic Church and the economic power attached to it to rebuild a collapsing economy and to construct a new national identity.

In Yucatán, during the tenure of Governor Olegario Molina (1902-1906) the state government successfully established an alliance with Bishop Tritshler (1902-1910) known as the *clericato*. The state government of Molina recognized that the Roman Catholic Church was the only organization in the state with the necessary economic, social, and cultural infrastructure to aid in the economic and social development of the state, particularly of the most rural areas. During the *clericato*, the Roman Catholic Church established an extensive education program, several rural elementary schools in the hands of religious orders were established to aid in the re-evangelization of indigenous communities and opened several colleges in Mérida, including the *Colegio Católico* de San Ildefonso where many of the Roman Catholic publications were produced (Savarino, 1997). In exchange, during Molina's tenure the Roman Catholic Church continued to collect *Diezmos* (tithes), it was not restricted from conducting religious ceremonies outside and the state government gave more importance to the

religious calendar than to the newly establish secular federal calendar (Savarino, 1997). Finally, it was during this period that a great number of *cofradias* and *hermandades* (religious brotherhoods) were established. Even governor Molina was a member of the *Cofradia de Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento* (Savarino, 1997. 643).

However, the effort of the state and the Roman Catholic Church to maintain a reconciliatory relationship did not last long. By the end of the 1910s, the industrial elite began to resent the power the Roman Catholic Church had recovered. Wealthy henequen *hacendados* resented not only having to pay *diezmos* (tithe), but also how the main and only networking organizations were linked to the Roman Catholic *cofradias* and *hermanades*. This was of particular dislike to the members of intellectual organizations and Freemasons (Savarino, 1997). Furthermore, the tension increased between the people and priests who attempted to limit or abolish some of the local rituals for a more orthodox and homogenous religious expressions only serving to further strain the relationship between the people and the Roman Catholic Church.

To ameliorate the tensions and mistrust between priests and parishioners in Yucatán, the Roman Catholic Church dedicated many chapels to local patron saints, to the ritual of the *Santa Cruz*[44], to the local *Virgen de Izamal*, and to the *Virgen de la Inmaculada Concepción*[45] (Savarino, 1997). The outcome of the Roman Catholic efforts was that the construction of a national and patriotic identity in Yucatán was based on the reconstruction of the churches and the *capillas* destroyed during the *Guerra de Castas* (1847-1901), and was centered on three strong Roman Catholic identities: Christ, *La Virgen de Izamal*, and the Blessed Sacrament.

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[44] The Ritual of the *Santa Cruz* is linked to the "Talking Cross" of *Chan Santa Cruz* where the *Guerra the Castas* started in the current state of Quintana Roo.

[45] The Virgen de Guadalupe did not have a large following in the Yucatán Peninsula at that time.

Given the strong economic, political, and cultural connection between the state and the Roman Catholic Church in Yucatán, the settlement of Protestant organization could not occur until changes in community organization and economic turmoil created the institutional differentiation needed for the creation of *religious vacuums*. In Muna, thirty-five miles south of Mérida, it was not until the end of political struggles that the congregation was finally strong enough to make "substantial progress [by] developing the local church and extending the light to the towns around about" (*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922. 353). It was only with the sanction of the local government of Opichen, about ten miles northeast of Muna, that a small congregation from Muna was allowed to "preach the Gospel" without political and social retaliations (*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922. 353).

In the case of Tabasco, governmental support was secured with in a few years after the first Presbyterian congregation started in Paraíso. Per request of Protestant leadership, the government of Tabasco ensured that congregations could meet safely. Rev. Greene reported in 1885 during his first visit to the congregation in San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), Paraíso, and Comalcalco that "he encountered severe oppositions, and the work was embarrassed by violence on the part of the Catholic population" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. 28). However, after governmental protection was secured religious services were held safely (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887). The support to Protestant congregations continued during the anticlerical period, as long as congregations complied with the requirements of the law, mainly that pastors were of Mexican origin, married, and that all religious services take place inside the registered buildings.

The relationship between the state and the Roman Catholic Church was different between the cases in the Yucatán peninsula and the case in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. On the one hand, the economic boom created by the henequen industry in the Yucatán peninsula required that an unspoken truce be established between the political and economic elites and the Roman Catholic Church ensuring the continuation of its power and influence. On the other hand, the relationship between the political and economic elites and the Roman Catholic Church in Tabasco was not reconciliatory. The strong anticlerical sentiments in Tabasco not only limited the power of the Roman Catholic Church and promoted the growth of Protestantism, but it also created a new secular identity in which individuals were allowed to develop a religious identity that could be different and separate from their patriotic identity.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL PASTORS

It was not only the political and cultural structure of the three cases that created religious pluralism at different periods, local pastors and missionaries played a pivotal role in the growth of Protestant congregations in southern Mexico. Protestant congregations settling in southern Mexico between 1880s and 1960s were characterized by the importance given to the individual, by their ability to separate themselves from the hierarchy, and by their experience working in areas where institutional differentiation was strong (Savarino, 1997). In the case of southern Mexico, Protestant congregations were often left in the hands of local pastors and the adult membership and professional missionaries visited only sporadically. Similarly to the experience of the Baptist and Methodist congregations in the southern United States described by Finke and Stark (1989), local pastors in southern Mexico were able to establish strong ties with their

membership and had a better understanding of the needs of their communities than Roman Catholic priests had sometimes.

From the beginning of religious expansion, Protestants recognized that the lack of professional missionaries from the United States could be a challenge to the growth of religious diversity abroad (*Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, 1910). In 1885, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church decided to "develop the native talent both for preaching and government, so that as soon as may be, the work may be entirely in the hands of the Mexican ministry" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1885. 22). Southern Baptist in Northern Mexico had a similar approach. In 1892, Pastor H. P. MacCormic from the United States began work in Morelia. "During his ministry…a great deal of literature was distributed, churches were organized in Morelia, San Juan, and Guayameo; two faithful native preachers were ordained, and in March 1898 the Michoacán Association was organized" and left in the hands of the local pastors (*Southern Baptist Foreign Missions*, 1910. 207.).

In Tabasco, the Presbyterian mission in Comalcalco, ten miles south of Paraíso and thirty miles north west of San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa), was started by Sr. Navarez, a graduate from the Presbyterian Seminary in Mexico City in 1884 (*Annual Report to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Prebyterian Church*, 1884). In 1922, the Presbyterian mission in Paraíso was in the hands of Sr. José Coffín, a native of Tabasco and a graduated from the Presbyterian Preparatory School in Coyoacán (*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922). The mission in San Juan Bautista (Villahermosa) was in the hands of Sr. Ganados, while the missions in Santa Ana, Arroyo Hondo, and Los Potreros were all in the hands of Mexican pastors from the Presbyterian School in San Angel (Mexico City) (*Annual Report Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1922).

Protestant congregations in Yucatán had a similar experience. Foreign ministers visited the congregations every two or three years leaving them in the hands of local pastors. In 1886, Mr. Greene from the Presbyterian Church in the United Stated visited Tabasco and Yucatán. Mr. Greene held religious services to a small congregation in Mérida but the mission did not receive enough interest and closed shortly after (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886). Five years later, Rev. Greene returned to Tabasco and Yucatán. He spent a

> "season of encouraging labor, especially in the city of Mérida, where large congregations of earnest listeners welcomed him, and where the growth and prosperity of the work seemed to demand the formation of a second congregation in a suburb of the city" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1892. 182).

Two years later, Rev. C. C. Millar arrived in Mexico City to take over Mr. Greene's work and visited the congregations in Tabasco, Michoacán, and Guerrero (*Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1894. 35). In 1914, Rev. William Wallace visited the congregations that had been established in the states of Veracruz, Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatán. He reported that "over the last thirty years none of the congregations had been in the hands of foreign-born missionary families" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1914. 308).

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign missions recognized the work of local missionaries and the advantages that leaving the congregations in the hands of local pastors provided. "Other native ordained ministers and helpers in the various fields have strengthened the esteem and confidence of our missionaries by their firmness in the midst of trails, and the faithful performance of their duties" (*Annual Report of the Board of*

Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1885. 22). The work of local ministers was extensive in southern Mexico. In 1887, according to Presbyterian records, there were forty-eight churches and only two foreign missionaries leaving most of the work in the hands of local pastors (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887).

> "No other field connected with the mission work of the Board has so small a force of missionaries in proportion to the work as the southern portion of the Mexican Field. This, however, is partly compensated by the unusual large proportions of the native force" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886. 28).

Leaving the congregations in the hands of local pastors was also an advantage when violence forced many foreign missionaries to leave the country. Work in Protestant congregations, at the onset of the Mexican Revolution and the *Cristero* Rebellion, was not disturbed as it was the work of Roman Catholic priests when they were forced to leave Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s. Professional ministers from the United States visited the congregations every two to three years even during the period of turmoil.

Even though often priests, prominent leaders, and communities distrusted Protestant and opposed the presence of foreign-born agents, local ministers and colporteurs were able to continue their work precisely because they had strong ties with people in the communities they served. In the period of early settlement after the Mexican American War, priests charged "Protestant missionaries with being secret agents of the United States Government in preparing the way for the annexation of Mexico to the United States" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1885. 22). In Yucatán,

> "Mr. Fernandez, colporteur of the American Bible Society, went thither in May, and while faithfully laboring he has endured the most bitter persecution. In spite

> of the bishop and the priests, he sold over 1,500 copies of the Bible in whole or in part, and 15,000 tracts and pamphlets" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1886. 31).

The adult members of the Protestant congregations also played an important role in the creation of religious pluralism in southern Mexico. Adult members were instrumental in the organization of the congregation and in ensuring the construction of strong ties with local communities and maintained weaker ties with congregations abroad. In June of 1897, members of the congregations of Frontera and Paraíso in Tabasco and the ministers from Yucatán met at the congregation in Comalcalco to form a new Presbytery of the Gulf of Mexico (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1897. 149).

In addition to their input to the organization of the congregation, adult members also had considerable involvement in the finances of the congregation. As early as 1884, many congregations in southern Mexico sought to be financially independent. In 1884, the Protestant congregations in Comalcalco and Paraíso, under the leadership of Mr. Navarez, had been able to obtain two houses dedicated to religious services, one school building and other contributions that had been offered by the members of the congregation (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1884). In Mérida, Rev. Alfonso Herrera's congregation was able to pay its own pastor and to make considerable contributions to the Mexican Home Missions, "for the relief of [the] poor, and towards a fund for the erection of a new church building" (*Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, 1887. 149).

The organizational structure of Protestant denominations sheltered them from the governmental oppression that the Roman Catholic Church suffered during the first half of

the 20th century. By allowing the missions to be in the hands of local pastors and local organizations, once foreign missionaries returned to the United States in most cases, the local congregation was not in danger of decreasing in numbers or in importance. In addition, the emphasis in literacy, in promoting wellbeing by economic means, and the aversion for alcoholic beverages were elements that the Protestant Church shared with the governmental officials at the time.

SUMMARY

The first half of the 20th century brought social, political, and economic instability to Mexico. The period of economic prosperity and peace between the state and the Roman Catholic Church that Mexico had experienced during the Porfiriato (1876-1910) ended in 1911 with economic depression, political turmoil, and social unrest (Florescano et al., 1988). During President Porfirio Diaz's tenure, the Roman Catholic Church regained some of the power and prestige lost with the *Leyes de Reforma* approved between 1855 and 1863 that began to dismantle its political and economic power. During the Porfiriato, the number of Dioceses, seminaries, priests, religious orders, temples, religious publications, charity organizations, and Roman Catholic schools and universities increased. Protestant missionaries working in Mexico noted the surge in Roman Catholic activity. "The Roman Catholic Church [was] showing more activity, starting, besides their '*seminario*' a '*colegio guadalupano*,' conducted by several foreign sisters. Priests [were] stationed in places heretofore only occasionally visited" (*Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1904a p. 136). It is unclear to what extent the increasing Roman Catholic activities were a response to

perceived competition from Protestant organizations or a response to the increasing tolerance the government of Porfirio Diaz provided.

The renewed strength of the Roman Catholic Church was not homogenous. In Yucatán and Campeche, the state government strengthened its relationship with the Roman Catholic Church, turned a blind eye towards the federal anticlerical policies, and used the Roman Catholic infrastructure, human capital, and cultural influence to fortify the region's economy and to develop a new state and national identity. The religious monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church was finally broken in Yucatán with the onset of the Mexican Revolution, the anticlerical movement of the 1920s, the economic changes brought about by the Land Reform, the collapse of the henequen industry, and the increasing distance between priests and parishioners. At this point, Protestant denominations, left in the hands of local pastors and missionaries, began to fulfil the spiritual, social, and practical needs of communities in the Yucatán peninsula left *vacant* by the institutional differentiation following the separation of Church and State. Changes in economic and community organizations also brought religious pluralism to the state of Campeche by the 1930s. However, niches of Protestantism in Campeche were left in the hands of the newly arrived Pentecostal traditions.

The experience of Tabasco during this period was very different. The combination of environmental and population characteristics as well as internal and external political conflicts combined with a liberal government, limited the presence and strength of the Roman Catholic Church even during the Porfiriato and created a religious *vacuum* in which religious pluralism could develop. The tension between the state and the Roman Catholic Church intensified during the second and third decade of the 20th century during the *Cristero* Rebellion and the tenure of Governor Garrido. Tabasco was the only state in southern Mexico where the armed conflict between the Mexican federal army and the

Cristeros (Roman Catholics) opposing the anticlerical articles of the 1917 Mexican Constitution was violent. The 1917 Mexican Constitution severely restricted the Roman Catholic Church's economic and political powers and, although the *Cristero* Rebellion did not succeed in changing the anticlerical tone of the Constitution, it highlighted the economic, political, cultural, and social power that the Roman Catholic Church still maintained over most of Mexico and brought more tension to Tabasco.

Between 1910 and 1940, the tension between the state and the Roman Catholic Church in Tabasco intensified creating a secular landscape not found in any other southern state. Governor Garrido's anticlerical policies forced priests to leave the state or risk being incarcerated. Roman Catholic churches were closed, turned into secular elementary schools, burned, or given to Protestant congregations. Roman Catholic religious items and icons were destroyed. Religious holidays were replaced by patriotic or economic festivities and even the religious names of towns were replaced with the names of Revolutionary heroes. In Yucatán and Campeche, the state and national identity built after the Revolution continued to be based on Roman Catholic rituals and traditions; however, in Tabasco, the newly created state and national identity was based on Mexican patriotism.

It is important to recognize that the anticlerical movement in Mexico, and particularly in Tabasco, was not antireligious. Instead, it was an effort to restrain the political and economic power of the Roman Catholic Church while ensuring that religion stayed within the spiritual and private realms. As a result, the anticlerical movement in Mexico had two important outcomes. The first, as Bantjes (1997) argues, allowed for a new cultural identity to be created in Mexico. The new cultural identity centered on a revolutionary civil religion and it combined religious and national symbols to create a strong patriotism and cultural nationalism that lasted through the 1970s. Secondly, it

allowed Protestant congregations to appropriate the emerging patriotic symbolism to ensure that they were viewed as both Protestant and Mexican. The tensions between the Roman Catholic Church and the state during the 1920s and 1930s forced many individuals to choose between their political affiliation and their religious convictions, and in the process forged a new identity that in many cases separated the two, reducing the Roman Catholic Church's direct involvement in the political and economic sphere.

Data at the individual level describing the conversion process during this period and its connection to the creation of religious pluralism are unfortunately lacking. However, four mechanisms to the creation of religious pluralism were identified by analyzing the instrumental role of key actors, in this case local pastors and missionaries. First, understanding the challenges of appointing foreign ministers to congregations in Mexico and establishing seminaries to train local pastors and missionaries, Protestant denominations safeguarded the long-term survival of their congregations. Second, local pastors and missionaries were able to take advantage of the strong ties built with the members of their congregations and were more familiar with the spiritual and worldly needs of the communities they served. Third, local pastors and missionaries were able to establish weak ties with other coreligionists in Mexico and with visiting foreign missionaries creating an extensive social network that could be utilized at times of need. Finally, the organizational structure of Protestant denominations sheltered the congregations from the governmental oppression that the Roman Catholic Church had to endure during the first half of the 20th century.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

This dissertation has identified and analyzed several key dimensions that contributed to the presence of Protestant religious traditions of three states in southern Mexico during historical intervals. The analysis of environmental and population characteristics, economic development, community organization, Roman Catholic strength and state and local policies helped identify the interplay of religious and political *vacuums*, and identify the structural and cultural factors that promoted the creation of niches of Protestantism in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán between 1880 and 1960.

An analysis of the development of social networks within the newly created Protestant congregations in all three selected cases allowed for the identification of key actors and their role in the construction of religious pluralism. Social network analysis provided a framework from which to analyze the role played by the organizational characteristics of Protestant denominations. Protestant denominations with flexible internal organizations that provided women and local pastors with the ability to establish strong ties within their congregations and to maintain weaker ties with other coreligionists in Mexico and abroad were successful even during times of political turmoil.

The comparative historical approach highlighted first how changes in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres in southern Mexico contributed to the growth of religious pluralism. Second, it explained why early Protestantism followed a different pattern of expansion compared with research conducted on religious pluralism in Mexico after the 1960s. Between the 1880s and the 1930s, the importance given to the

individual, the internal structure of congregations, and the ability of Protestant denominations to navigate the growing secular field in Mexico also played a crucial role in the creation of religious pluralism. In the 1940s and through the 1960s new Protestant and Pentecostal denominations began to enter the religious field in southern Mexico where their emphasis on the spiritual and practical wellbeing of the underprivileged members of the community, particularly in the growing urban environment, created new niches of Protestantism.

To address the first research question posited in this dissertation and to understand to what extent changes in political, economic, and social spheres in some areas of southern Mexico contributed to the development of niches of Protestantism, chapter two analyzed the role that geographic and environmental characteristics played in the creation of religious pluralism. In the cases of Campeche and Yucatán, the environment allowed for the early development of traditional economies based on extensive agriculture and ranching. The presence of indigenous groups and diverse European settlers influenced the creation of ethnic communities with an identity strongly linked to Roman Catholic rituals and traditions. It was not until the ethnic identities where transformed by economic changes starting with the onset of the Mexican Revolution that religious pluralism could take place. In the case of Tabasco, the harsh environment, the lack of ethnic communities, the poor soils for agriculture, a lack of significant European settlements, and the lack of overland transportation limited the Roman Catholic Church interests until the 19th century and created a *vacuum* in the religious space that could be fulfilled by the missionary zeal of Protestant denominations.

Local seaports, railroads, and waterways did however, play an important role in the ability of Protestant missionaries to gain access to areas that had been traditionally beyond the reach of other religious organizations. In Tabasco, lowland marshes and

swamps, as well as numerous stream meanders hindered the development of any extensive railroad systems and contributed to the creation of small and isolated population enclaves. The port of Frontera, with its strong connection to ports in the southern United States, particularly to the port of New Orleans in Louisiana, opened the religious field to Protestant missionaries. In southern Mexico, the early distribution of Scriptures was in the hands of merchant marines from the Unites States, Great Britain, and other European countries adding to the Protestant influence. Merchant marines were often responsible for providing the first Bibles used in the formation of the first Protestant congregations in Tabasco. The port at Frontera also made it possible for missionaries, foreign and local, to establish secure ties with other coreligionists in Mexico and ensured that the newly created Protestant congregations maintained contact with the Home Mission abroad. In the cases of Campeche and Yucatán, although ports were also accessible and at least in the case of Yucatán, railroads connected the main ports with the hinterland, the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church since colonial times hindered the development of religious pluralism in the region.

Environmental characteristics influenced the locations where Protestants settled and how Protestant denominations expanded to areas were the Roman Catholic Church was not fulfilling the religious needs of the community and where the state was not providing the necessary social services. The harsh environment of the three selected cases influenced the health outcomes and indirectly aided in the development of religious pluralism particularly between the 1880s and the 1930. Often, outbreaks of yellow fever, malaria, and other acute and chronic illnesses created a healthcare *vacuum,* a lack of institutional support for health issues that could be fulfilled by the missionary zeal of Protestant organizations. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Seventh-day Adventists, and other Protestant organizations opened medical dispensaries, clinics, and hospitals

alongside Churches and missionary stations. Additionally, Protestant organizations were able to organize and provide help to communities when natural disasters occurred since they were able to maintain weaker ties with other coreligionists in Mexico and abroad.

Environmental characteristics are only one aspect that highlighted why religious pluralism occurred in southern Mexico. An analysis of demographic characteristics allowed for the identification of key dimension that influenced the creation of niches of Protestantism in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán and answered the second research question: why Protestant groups settled first in areas of low-ethnic composition and why settlement patterns changed. In the case of Tabasco, its geographic location, lack of economic prospects, low population density, and small number of ethnic groups and European settlers combined to make it a low priority for a strong and continuous presence of the Roman Catholic Church. This in turn created institutional differentiation, or a *vacant religious space,* where religious diversity could develop. Contrarily, in the cases of Campeche and Yucatán, the large proportion of indigenous population with strong cultural attachments to Roman Catholic rituals and traditions and the extensive presence of European settlers created a religious market dominated by the Roman Catholic Church that hindered the settlement of Protestant organizations until economic turmoil disrupted the community structures in the region.

The role that international migration played in the creation of niches of Protestantism in Yucatán and Campeche was unexpected. Although, small enclaves of Protestant groups had been settling in northern and central Mexico since the 1830s there was no record of Protestant groups settling in southern Mexico. However, with the growth of the *henequen* industry and the increasing economic development of Campeche and Yucatán after the *Porfiriato*, the shortage of labor became an issue that had to be address by attracting labor from afar. In 1916, members of the Presbyterian Mission in

Korea began settling in Campeche and in Yucatán and by 1921; a self-sustaining Korean congregation was established in Mérida facilitating the further arrival of Presbyterian missionaries to the region. Not only did international migration play a role in the development of niches of Protestantism, the internal migration patterns of local missionaries were instrumental to the success of missions in the region. Local ministers and teachers trained at the Presbyterian Seminaries and Schools in Mexico City opened and administered Protestant congregations as far away as Yucatán and Tabasco and moved from one congregation to another following their missionary zeal and satisfying the spiritual and social needs of the communities.

Another aspect that facilitated the growth of religious pluralism in southern Mexico was the role that women played in Protestant organizations. Contrary to their experience in the Roman Catholic tradition, Protestant organizations allowed and encouraged women to fulfill positions of leadership. Women were actively engaged in the day-to-day administration of the congregations and managed social and educational projects. Women were among the first to convert and to attend services, even if the community at large did not want to become involved. At times of turmoil, local women took charge of delivering the Protestant message in both rural and urban communities. Delivering the Protestant message also gave women a voice and the freedom to participate in economic and political spheres at a time where women had very little power outside the home. Protestant congregations were among the few organizations in which women could develop leadership and practical skills in order to participate fully in the development of the modern nation state.

Linked to the role of women, the educational efforts of Protestant traditions also contributed to the creation of religious pluralism. A major obstacle to the early settlement of Protestantism in southern Mexico, particularly in Tabasco, was the low levels of

literacy. The belief that individuals needed to read the Bible and the efforts of missionaries to accomplish that goal eventually contributed to higher literacy rates. Higher literacy rates allowed more people to be able to read the Bible and to participate fully in the organizational structure of Protestant congregations. Once the initial presence was established and growing, the emphasis on being able to read the Bible and the centrality of the individual's ability to comprehend and interpret the message ensured that literacy rates increased with each generation. Interestingly, the importance given to literacy by Protestant congregations not only benefited their members but many Roman Catholic children were sent to Protestant schools during the dismantling of the Roman Catholic educational structure in the 1920s. Furthermore, given the emphasis on the distribution of Scriptures and other religious materials, Protestant organizations had the infrastructure necessary for the production and distribution of educational materials, even before the state government was able to do so. Protestant printing houses all over Mexico created and distributed educational materials to be used by their schools and by their congregations even if a trained teacher was not available.

Another characteristic of Protestant denominations that contributed to their growth in southern Mexico between the 1880s and 1930s was the ability of some denominations to circumvent the secular tendencies of the emerging nation state. Presbyterian congregations in Tabasco were particularly successful in avoiding conflict with the strong secular state government and with the anticlerical policies of the centralized federal authority. By utilizing their flexible organizational structure, Protestant denominations were able to create a separation between their educational and their religious efforts much more effectively than the Roman Catholic organizations. Protestant ministers were able to comply with the requirement of the anticlerical articles of the 1917 Mexican constitution while Roman Catholic priests were unable to do so.

Unlike Roman Catholic rituals and traditions that over time had been strongly linked to the public sphere, Protestant organization were able to keep their religiosity within the private sphere therefore satisfying the increasing secular tendencies of the new nation state.

One of the most important elements in the creation of religious pluralism in southern Mexico, as well as one of the key contributions of this dissertation, was the difference observed in community structures linked to the environmental and demographic characteristics. In the cases of Campeche and Yucatán, the *hacienda* system hindered the development of religious pluralism, while in the case of Tabasco, the *finca* and *ejido* systems allowed for the creation of religious pluralism as early as the end of the 19th century. The overreaching economic, social, and cultural structure of the *hacienda* inhibited the individual's ability to belong to different social spheres, particularly to different religious traditions. Only in the case where the *hacendado* (landowner) was interested in converting to a Protestant tradition were Protestant missionaries able to enter the community. Community organization in the *hacienda* system placed all social and cultural ties within the same economic structure. In the *haciendas,* strong ties produced and reproduced through Roman Catholic rituals and traditions, linked individuals to each other. In this socioeconomic system, individuals needed to maintain those strong ties in order to participate in the distribution of economic resources.

In Tabasco, community organization and the distribution of resources were not linked to one overreaching social and cultural structure. In the case of subsistent agriculture and later with the growth of the tropical fruit production, individuals were able to belong to different social spheres, to be part of unions or to affiliate with different religious traditions ensuring their survival in a harsh and competitive environment. Finally, it was not until after the economic turmoil caused by the crash of the *henequen*

industry in the 1930s and the political turmoil brought by the Land Reform that deeply restructured communities in Campeche and Yucatán that niches of Protestantism were developed. Between the 1880s and the 1910s Protestant missionaries encountered at best a disinterested following, at worst a violent welcome in the Yucatán Peninsula.

To address the third and final research question posited in this dissertation, how Protestant groups attained and maintained regional governmental support during the secularization process in Mexico, chapter four analyzed the strength of the Roman Catholic Church, the influence of the political ideologies, and the role of local ministers and missionaries. While the Roman Catholic Church had dominated the religious landscape of Mexico since colonial times their presence and strength was not homogenous or continuous. In the case of Tabasco, The Roman Catholic presence was sporadic at best and created a religious *vacuum* where Protestant missionaries were able to fulfil the spiritual and practical needs of the communities in which they settled as early as the 1880s.

In the states of Campeche and Yucatán, the early development of cattle ranches, *haciendas*, and a considerable presence of ethnic and European settlements created a religious market dominated by several Roman Catholic groups. Even during the secularization process in Mexico, the conservative political party in Yucatán took advantage of the strong relationship built with the Roman Catholic Church. During to ensure that modernization efforts were successful. The government of Yucatán took advantage of the economic, social, and political infrastructure already developed by the Roman Catholic Church to create a new state and national identity strongly linked to Roman Catholic rituals and traditions.

It is important to note that the anticlerical policies in Tabasco, as well as in the rest of the country were not antireligious. In Tabasco, the strong liberal and anticlerical

policies that sought to undermine the power that the Roman Catholic Church had managed to retain, directly and indirectly contributed to the creation of religious pluralism. The state legislature ordered the closure of Roman Catholic churches, limited the number of priests, and even created a secular topography. In the growing secular environment, Roman Catholic priests were persecuted or incarcerated, while Protestant pastors were allowed to continue tending to their flock. In the state of Tabasco, the weakness of the Roman Catholic Church, the strong anticlerical policies, and the secularization of education and the even the topography combined with the liberal policies of the state to create the opportunity for civil authorities to ensure, or at least not to oppose, the creation of religious diversity.

The final element analyzed that contributed to the creation of religious pluralism was the importance given to local pastors and missionaries, particularly in light of anticlerical sentiments during the *Cristero* Rebellion. Protestant denominations growing in Mexico during the period of study were characterized by the importance given to the individual, to education, to the role of women, and by the ability of their leadership to separate from a strong hierarchy without losing the support of the Home Missions in Mexico and abroad. Protestant denominations that successfully recognized the need to create a strong local ministry and missionary efforts were must successful. One of the causes for the decline of Roman Catholic affiliation observed in Yucatán was the increasing tension between foreign-born priests and ethnic communities. Foreign-born priests were unable to understand how over time Roman Catholic rituals and traditions had changed and had been reinterpreted by the ethnic communities. In the case of Protestant organizations, leaving the congregation in the hands of local pastors and missionaries was a strategy that contributed to their success. Local pastors had the cultural competence necessary to deliver the Protestant message and were able to

understand the spiritual and practical needs of the communities they served. Local pastors and missionaries were also able to establish strong ties with the member of the congregation and weaker ties with the foreign ministers that visited the congregation every few years.

Using quantitative and qualitative data this dissertation identifies several dimensions linked with the early and continued presence of Protestant groups in southern Mexico between 1880 and 1960; however several questions remain unanswered. Further research needs to include a comparative analysis of all niches of Protestantism evolving in Mexico between 1880 and 1960. It is important to identify the different environmental, demographic, and cultural factors that contributed to creation of religious pluralism throughout Mexico. Particular attention should be given to the northern states where the Roman Catholic presence was also sporadic at best and to areas in the Pacific and Gulf of Mexico coast where seaports offered Protestant missionaries the opportunity to enter a new religious field while maintaining their connection with other Protestant organizations in Mexico and abroad. It is also important to test quantitatively if a correlation exists between the creation of niches of Protestantism and community organization around the *hacienda* system in other areas of Mexico and Latin America.

Although individual data are lacking at this point, further research should look critically at the role that the religious unaffiliated played in the development of religious diversity. Some research has found a strong and consistent correlation between the percentages of individuals declaring no religious affiliation and religious diversity in Mexico in the last three decades, however, the process by which individuals converted from one religious tradition to another remains unclear. Finally, given the heterogeneity of theological messages and organizational structures, future research should also analyze the experiences of other Protestant denominations. Particular attention should be given to

the expansion of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal denominations entering the religious market in Mexico at the beginning of the 20th century and continue to grow today.

Using a comparative historical approach, this dissertation contributes to the field of sociology of religion by identifying some of the key economic, political, social, and cultural changes taking place in southern Mexico between 1880 and 1960 that contributed to the development of niches of Protestantism. Contrary to the experience of ethnic communities after the 1970s in Mexico, religious pluralism occurred first in the state of Tabasco where the low ethnic presence limited the interest of the Roman Catholic leadership and created a *vacant religious space* where Protestant denominations could satisfy the spiritual and worldly needs of the communities where they settled. In the case of Yucatán, religious pluralism occurred only after the economic and political changes broke the established community organization strongly tied to a Roman Catholic identity. In the case of Campeche, religious diversity had to wait until a massage directed toward the disadvantaged members of the community could be delivered by Pentecostal traditions. Finally, it was the theological message as well as the internal structure of first Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and later Seventh-day Adventists, Assemblies of God and Church of God, that allowed them to circumvent the increasing secular religious market of Mexico and to acquire and maintain the support of the local and state governments.

Appendix 1.1. List of Key Variables with Sources

Variable	Source
Religious Affiliation by Year	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos. 1970. DGE. IX Censo General de Población 1970. Tabulados básicos. 1980. INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda 1980. 1990. INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda 1990. 2000. INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda 2000. 2010. INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010.
Average Temperature 1920	1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. México : INEGI
Average Rain fall 1920	1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. México : INEGI
Altitude 1920	1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. México : INEGI
Latitude and Longitude 1920	1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. México : INEGI
Territory in Square Kilometers 1920	1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos.
Number of Municipalities by Year	1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DGE. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Lighthouses 1920	1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos.
Mortality by Year	Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910. INEGI

Cause of Death by Year	Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910. INEGI
Doctors by Year	Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1895. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. 1900. DGE. Censo General de La República Mexicana 1900. 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de la República Mexicana 1910. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. DGE 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Medical and Social Services by Year	Bonine, Michael et. al. 1970
Birth Rate by Year	Bonine, Michael et. al. 1970
Mortality Rate by Year	Bonine, Michael et. al. 1970
Infant Mortality Rate by Year	Bonine, Michael et. al. 1970
Population by Year	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Population Density	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930.

	Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Percentage of People Living in the Capital City by Year	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Sex Ratio by Year	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados

	básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Ethnicity by Year	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Education and Literacy by Year	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Protestant Schools by Year	Blue Book of Missions 1905 Encyclopedia of Missions 1904 PREC

Protestant Print Houses by Year	Blue Book of Missions 1905 Encyclopedia of Missions 1904 PREC
Roman Catholic Schools by Year	Annual Report of the American Bible Society PREC Savarino, 1997
Roman Catholic Print Houses by Year	Annual Report of the American Bible Society PREC Savarino, 1997
School Attendance by Year	1885. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1895. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1900. DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1900. Tabulados básicos. México: INEGI 1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Campeche. INEGI. 1921. DGE. Censo General de Habitantes del 30 de noviembre de 1921. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos. 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Campeche. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Tabasco. INEGI 1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población del 15 de mayo de 1930. Estado de Yucatán. INEGI 1940. DGE. Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Tabulados básicos. 1950. DGE. Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados básicos. 1960. DGE. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados básicos.
Types of Population Settlements by Year	1930. DEN. Quinto Censo de Población 1930. Tabulados básicos.
Average Population by Town Size 1910	1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos.
Number of Roman Catholic Churches by State and by *Municipio* or *Partido* by Year	Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910. INEGI PREC
Number of Priests and Minister by State by Year	Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910. INEGI PREC
Places of Worship by State and by *Municipio* or *Partido* 1910	1910. DGE. Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos.
Protestant Affiliation by State in 1940, 1950, 1960,	Sexto Censo de Población y Vivienda 1940. Tabulados Básicos Séptimo Censo General de Población 1950. Tabulados Básicos. VIII Censo General de Población 1960. Tabulados Básicos
Protestant Work by State in 1961	Taylor & Coggins, 1961

Appendix 1.2. Protestant Denominations Present in the State of Campeche in 1961

Community	Missions Present			
	Assemblies of God	Church of God Foreign Missions	Seventh Day Adventists	United Presbyterian Church in the United States
Arrellano	X	-	-	-
Campeche	X	-	X	X
Champotón	-	-	X	-
Colorado	X	-	-	-
Ciudad del Carmen	X	X	X	-
Dzilbalche	X	-	-	-
Escarzega	X	X	X	-
La Libertad	-	X	-	-
Lazaro Cárdenas	-	X	-	-
Matamoros	-	-	X	-
Nuevo Progreso	-	X	-	-
Palizada	-	-	-	-
Pejelagarto	X	-	-	-
San Carlos	-	X	-	-
Tamarindo	-	X	-	-
Trinidad	-	X	-	-
Tunich	x	-	-	-

Source: Taylor, Clyde W. and Wide T. Coggins. 1961. Protestant Missions in Latin America: A Statistical Survey. Washington: Evangelical Foreign Missions Association. Pp.225-226

* The presence of the mission includes organized and unorganized churches, hostels, orphanage, social centers, short course bible schools, student homes, student centers, primary schools, hospital, clinics, radio programs, bible institutes, nurses' training centers, and agricultural stations.

Appendix 1.3. Protestant Denominations Present in the State of Tabasco in 1961

Communities	Missions Present*						
	Assemblies of God	Church of God Foreign Missions	Missionary Aviation Fellowship	Seventh Day Adventists	United Andean Indian Mission	United Presbyterian Church in the United States	Wycliffe Bible Translators
Allende	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Balancan	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Blasillo	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Boca del Bayo	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Cárdenas	X	X	-	X	-	X	-
Carrillo Puerto	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Centro	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Chichicastle	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Chico Zapate	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Colomo	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Comalcalco	-	X	-	X	X	X	-
Cuauhtémoc	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Canduacán	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Cucuyalapa	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Cunduacán	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Ejido Tequila	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
El Carmen	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
El Cocal	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
El Corregidora	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
El Rompido	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Esperanza	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Francisco I. Madero	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Frontera	-	X	-	X	-	X	-
Huimanguillo	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Jalapa	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Jonuta	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
La Arena	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
La Estrella	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
La Morelos	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Las Gaviotas	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Las Matillas	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Limbano	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Macuspana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medellen	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Miraflores	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Morelos	-	X	-	-	-	-	-

Paraíso	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Praderas	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Ranchería Higo	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Rancho de Tulija el Alto	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Rio Seco	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Rivera Alta	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
San Bartolo	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
San Degollado	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
San Fernando	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
San Francisco	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
San Gregorio	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
San Jerónimo Alto	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
San Pedrito	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Santa Cruz	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Santa Lucia	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Santo Domingo	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Santos Degollados	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Tacotalpa	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Teapa	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Tenosique	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Tepotzingo	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Teresa Miraflores	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Villa Hermosa	X	X	X	X	X	X	-

Source: Taylor, Clyde W. and Wide T. Coggins. 1961. Protestant Missions in Latin America: A Statistical Survey. Washington: Evangelical Foreign Missions Association. Pp.225-226

* The presence of the mission includes organized and unorganized churches, hostels, orphanage, social centers, short course bible schools, student homes, student centers, primary schools, hospital, clinics, radio programs, bible institutes, nurses' training centers, and agricultural stations.

Appendix 1.4. Protestant Denominations Present in the State of Yucatán in 1961

Community	Missions Present				
	Assemblies of God	Church of God Foreign Missions	Seventh Day Adventists	United Andean Indian Mission	United Presbyterian Church in the United States
Akil	X	-	-	-	-
Baca	X	-	-	-	-
Cansachab	X	-	-	-	-
Carta Clara	-	X	-	-	-
Catmis	X	-	-	-	-
Dzidzantun	-	-	X	-	-
Espita	-	-	X	-	-
Ixil	X	-	-	-	-
Izamal	X	X	-	-	-
Mani	X	-	-	-	-
Mérida	X	X	X	-	X
Motul	X	-	X	-	-
Oxkutcab	-	-	X	-	-
Progreso	X	-	-	-	-
Sinanche	X	-	-	-	-
Somahil	X	-	-	-	-
Sotuta	-	-	X	-	-
Tahmek	X	-	-	-	-
Tecoh	-	-	X	-	-
Tekax	X	-	X	-	-
Telchak	X	-	-	-	-
Temax	-	-	X	-	-
Ticul	-	X	X	-	-
Tixkokob	-	-	X	-	-
Tizimín	-	-	-	-	-
Tunkas	X	-	-	-	-
Tzucachab	X	-	X	-	-
Uci	X	-	-	-	-
Umán	-	-	X	-	-
Valladolid	-	-	X	-	-
Xocenpich	-	-	-	X	-
Yaxa	X	-	-	-	-

Yaxcaba	X	-	-	-	-
Yodzonat	X	-	-	-	-

Source: Taylor, Clyde W. and Wide T. Coggins. 1961. Protestant Missions in Latin America: A Statistical Survey. Washington: Evangelical Foreign Missions Association. Pp.225-226

* The presence of the mission includes organized and unorganized churches, hostels, orphanage, social centers, short course bible schools, student homes, student centers, primary schools, hospital, clinics, radio programs, bible institutes, nurses' training centers, and agricultural stations.

Appendix 2.1. Lighthouses by State 1920s

State	Location of the Lighthouse	Lighthouse Reach in Miles (4)	Year Established (9)
Campeche	Campeche (Capital)	14	1865
	Carmen	75	1857
	Morros de Seybaplaya	54	1896
	Atalaya	13	1905
	Isla Aguada	29	1908
	Champotón	10	N/A
Tabasco	Frontera	37	1882
	Tupilco (Paraíso)	N/A	1908
Yucatán	Progresso	54	1893
	Punta Yalkubu	61	1909
	Celestún	10	1880
	El Cuyo	21	1907
	Sisal	37	1852
	Isla Pérez	N/A	1901

Sources:
(4) DGE. Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos.
(9) Russell 2013.

Appendix 2.2. Railroads by State 1900

States	From	To	Type	Kilometers	Miles
Campeche	Campeche	Mérida	Steam	199.5	123.9
	Campeche	Lerma	Steam	6.0	3.7
	Limonchac	Yohaltun	Animal	40.0	24.9
	San Isidro	Pital	Animal	18.0	11.2
	Private Use (Fincas)		Portable	26.0	16.2
			Total	**289.5**	**179.9**
Tabasco	San Juan Bautista	Paso del Carrizal	Animal	5.8	3.6
	Cárdenas	Grijalva River	Animal	7.6	4.7
	San Juan Bautista	Paso de Tierra Colorada	Animal	5.4	3.4
	Cárdenas	Nueva Zelandia (sugar mill)	Animal	8.0	5.0
			Total	**26.8**	**16.7**
Yucatán	Mérida	Peto	Steam	144.0	89.5
	Mérida	Valladolid	Steam	148.0	92.0
	Mérida	Progreso	Steam	86.5	53.7
	Mérida	Izamal	Steam	65.9	40.9
	Mérida	Hacienda de Hobonya	Animal	22.0	13.7
	Progreso	Chiexulub	Animal	10.0	6.2
	Hoctun	Cacalchen	Animal	12.0	7.5
	Private Use (Haciendas)		Animal	87.0	54.1
	Private Use (Haciendas)		Portable	714.0	443.7
			Total	**1 289.4**	**801.3**

Sources:
Peñafiel, 1900
Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910, 1956

Appendix 3.1. Population Distribution according to Number of Inhabitants 1910

State	500 Inhabitants				501 to 1000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	393	36 144	92	41.72	13	8 747	666	10.12
Tabasco	1 977	93 204	47	49.70	53	36 309	685	19.36
Yucatán	2 063	137 747	66	40.56	60	41 468	691	12.21
Mexico	65 379	5 903 817	90	39.00	3 193	2 257 073	706	14.91
	1001 to 1500 Inhabitants				1501 to 2500 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	4	4 796	1199	5.55	4	7 615	1 904	8.71
Tabasco	16	19 336	1208	10.31	6	12 542	2 090	6.68
Yucatán	16	19 586	1224	5.76	18	34 088	1 893	10.03
Mexico	1 021	1 238 471	1213	8.15	749	1 412 667	1 886	9.31
	2501 to 4000 Inhabitants				4001 to 5000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	2	6 049	3 024	6.99	-	-	-	0
Tabasco	5	13 856	2 771	7.38	-	-	-	0
Yucatán	5	16 172	3 234	4.76	4	16 717	4 179	4.92
Mexico	317	967 658	3 052	6.36	79	346 136	4 381	2.27
	5001 to 6000 Inhabitants				6001 to 8000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	-	-	-	0	1	6 535	6 535	9.54

Tabasco	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-
Yucatán	2	11 388	5 694	3.35	-	-	-	-
Mexico	52	284 754	5 476	1.86	50	376 544	7 530	2.47

	6001 to 8000 Inhabitants				8001 to 10000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	1	6 535	6 535	9.54	-	-	-	-
Tabasco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yucatán	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mexico	50	376 544	7 530	2.47	21	186 826	8 896	1.23

	10001 to 12500 Inhabitants				12501 to 20000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	-	-	-	-	1	16 775	16 775	19.37
Tabasco	1	12 327	12 327	6.57	-	-	-	-
Yucatán	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mexico	19	213 190	11 220	1.46	21	305 068	145 27	2.01

	20001 to 30000 Inhabitants				30001 to 40000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tabasco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yucatán	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mexico	8	191 875	23 984	1.27	11	389 038	35 367	2.56

	40001 to 50000 Inhabitants				50001 to 60000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tabasco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yucatán	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Mexico	3	133 873	44 624	0.88	1	57 727	57 727	0.38

	60001 to 80000 Inhabitants				80001 to 100000 Inhabitants			
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population
Campeche	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tabasco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yucatán	1	62 447	62 447	18.41	-	-	-	-
Mexico	3	208 997	69 665	1.37	1	96 121	96 121	0.63

	More than 100000 Inhabitants				Total Number of Settlements	Total Population
	Number of Towns	Inhabitants	Average Number of Inhabitants	Percent of Total Population		
Campeche	-	-	-	-	418	86 661
Tabasco	-	-	-	-	2 058	187 574
Yucatán	-	-	-	-	2 169	339 613
Mexico	2	590 534	295 267	3.90	70 930	1 5160 369

Source:
Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. DGE

Appendix 3.2. Demographic Background of Selected Cases

The following section provides a detail description of the demographic characteristics of Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán from 1880 to 1960. By the 1895 Population Census, the population of Campeche was 89,001 and the population density was less than two inhabitants per square kilometer (Estadística, 1895). By 1900, the total population of Campeche declined slightly to 86,542 inhabitants, however the difference was very small and the population only accounted for 0.6 percent of the total population of Mexico (Estadística, 1900). By the onset of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, the population of Campeche remained almost the same (86,661 inhabitants) and there was not significant change in the population density over the two and half decades. During this period, Campeche had the highest percentage of population residing in the city of Campeche, approximately twenty percent of the inhabitants (Estadística, 1900; Peñafiel, 1900).

According to the first population census, the total population of the state of Tabasco was 135,869 inhabitants and the population density was the highest of all three cases with five inhabitants per square kilometer (Estadística, 1895). By 1900, the total population had increased by almost 24,000 people which accounted for approximately one percent of the total population of the country (Estadística, 1900). At the start of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, the total population of Tabasco had almost doubled since 1873 (187,574 inhabitants) but still only accounted for 1.24 percent of the total population of the country and the population density had reached seven inhabitants per square kilometer (Estadística, 1910). In 1900, Tabasco had the lowest percentage of its population living in the capital city of San Juan Bautista (only 6.6 percent) (Estadística, 1900).

Yucatán had the largest population of the three states during the early settlement period (1880-1910). In 1895, approximately 2.3 percent of people in Mexico resided in the state of Yucatán a total of 300,331 inhabitants and by 1910 the total population of Yucatán was 339,613 people (Estadística, 1895, 1910). The population density of Yucatán at the turn of the century is misleading, since it takes into account the sparsely inhabited territory of Quintana Roo. However, by 1910 the population density of 8.2 people per square kilometer depicts more clearly the distribution of the population in the Yucatán during the last two decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century (Estadística, 1910). Finally, fourteen percent of the population of Yucatán reside in Mérida according to the 1900 census (Estadística, 1900).

Demographic characteristics change dramatically for the three selected cases during the period of political and religious conflicts in Mexico between 1910 and 1930. The population of Campeche further declined during the decade after the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The population and the population density of Campeche declined to 76,419 inhabitants and 1.49 inhabitants per square kilometer, respectively in 1921 (Estadística, 1921). The percentage of the population living in the capital city increased to 22.13 (Estadística, 1921). By 1930, the total population in Campeche had increased to 84,630 inhabitants, however, the population density was still less than 2 inhabitants per square kilometer (Estadística, 1930). By 1940, the total population of 90,460 with 25.73 percent of its total population living in the capital city of Campeche (Estadística, 1940).

The population of Tabasco grew according to the 1921 Population Census, even after the turmoil of the Mexican Revolution. Tabasco's population was 210,437 inhabitants and the population density also increased to 8.3 people per square kilometer (Estadística, 1921). Although population increased in Tabasco during this period, the state continue to be the most rural of all three cases with less than eight percent of the

population living at the capital (Estadística, 1921). By 1930, the population of Tabasco had increased to 224,023 and the population density had also growth considerably to almost nine inhabitants per square kilometer (Estadística, 1930).

By 1940, the population of Tabasco increased to 285,630 inhabitants, which increased the population density to almost twelve people per square kilometers, however, only 8.8 percent of the population, lived in the capital Villahermosa (prior San Juan Bautista). In the 1950's the population of Tabasco increased dramatically to 362,716 inhabitants and the population density almost doubled to 14.32 people per square kilometer (Estadística, 1950). The overall growth of the population after the 1940 it is due mostly to the growth of the oil industry in the Gulf Coast.

The population of Yucatán also increased considerably during the decades of the Mexican Revolution and the anticlerical movement that follow. In 1921 the total population of Yucatán was 358,221 inhabitants with 79,225 people living in the city of Mérida (22.12 percent) and had a population density of 9.3 people per square kilometer (Estadística, 1921). By 1930, the population of Yucatán increased to 386,096 inhabitants with a population density of 10.03 inhabitants per square kilometer (Estadística, 1930). By 1940, the population of Yucatán was 418,210 inhabitants with almost 100,000 living in the city of Mérida (23.64 percent) and a population density of almost eleven people per square kilometers (Estadística, 1940)

In 1950, the population of Campeche went above the 100,000 inhabitants and by 1960 it had reached 168,219 inhabitants however, the population density continued to be very low, with only 2.4 and 3.3 people per square kilometer for each decade (Estadística, 1960). In the same year, the population of Tabasco was more than double the population of Campeche with a total of 362,716 inhabitants and the population density continue to increase to more than fourteen people per square kilometer (Estadística, 1950). By 1960,

the population of Tabasco had grown to almost 500,000 people and the population density was almost twenty people per square kilometer (Estadística, 1960). The population growth in the state of Tabasco was due to the continuing development of the oil industry that started in the 1940s. Similarly, Yucatán continued to experience an steady growth of population reaching 516,899 in 1950 and by 1960 the population of the state was 614,049 and had a population density of almost sixteen people per square kilometer (Estadística, 1950, 1960).

Appendix 3.3. Background of Sex Ratios in Campeche, Tabasco, and Yucatán

In addition to the differences in total population, percentage residing in the state's capital and population density, the sex ratios of all three cases varied considerably between 1880 and 1910. Appendix 3.3.1 shows the number of men and women and the predominance for each case according to the 1895, 1900, and 1910 censuses. The distribution of males and females was linked to the economic situation of each state. During the Porfiriato (1876-1910), a shortage of labor in Yucatán and Campeche was solved by contract workers from East Asia, mostly from China and from Korea (Knight, 1991). It is estimated that about 3,000 men from East Asia arrived in Yucatán and Campeche between the 1900 and the 1910 census, which might explain the skewed sex ratio shown in appendix 3.3.1 and the epidemic of beriberi (thiamine deficiency) recorded in the state of Yucatán during the same period (Meyers, 2005).

According to the 1895 census, there were more females than males in both Campeche and Yucatán with a sex ratio of ninety-one and ninety-six respectively, while the sex ratio for the state of Tabasco was ninety-nine (Estadística, 1895). At the turn of the 20th century, Tabasco was the only case with a predominance of males (a sex ratio of 102), while the sex ratio of Campeche and Yucatán remained approximately the same (ninety-two and eighty-nine respectively) (Estadística, 1900). By 1910, Campeche was the only case with a predominance of males and a sex ratio of 103 while Tabasco and Yucatán had more females than males among their populations with a sex ratios of ninety-seven and ninety-eight respectively (Estadística, 1910).

Finding sex ratios below 100 in Tabasco and Yucatán during the period of early settlement of Protestant missionaries is similar to findings regarding the presences of Protestantism in Mexico in the 1990. Davis (2009), found a strong positive correlation to

the percentage of females in a municipality and the presence of Protestants in Mexico according to the 1990 census.

At the end of the early period of settlement, sex ratios might be one of the characteristics of the population that influenced the development of religious pluralism in southern Mexico. Appendix 3.3.2 shows that by 1921 at the beginning of the anticlerical movements the sex ratios in southern Mexico continue to be skewed in all three cases. Although at the state level Campeche and Yucatán appear to have almost the same amount of females and males, a closer look at the municipality and region levels shows that sex ratios were more skewed than previously shown.

In the state of Campeche, only three out of eight municipalities have a sex ratio below 100. The municipalities of Campeche, Carmen, and Calkini were the only three municipalities with more females than males probably since they were the most urban in the state, with the capital, and the two largest towns at the time. On the contrary, Champotón in the central region of the state was the municipality with the most skewed sex ratio (122 men per every 100 women), followed by Hecelchacán, on the border with Yucatán, with 110 men per 100 women. Both municipalities were the most rural in the state and the population was employed by the henequen industry (Estadística, 1921; *Estadísticas Sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, 1956).

The situation is reverse in the state of Tabasco, of the seventeen municipalities only Huimanguillo on the border with the state of Veracruz had more males than females (a sex ratio of 102) in 1921 (Estadística, 1921). Finally, in the estate of Yucatán, only eleven out of the eighty-six municipalities in 1921 had a sex ratio of ninety-nine and below and the northwestern region where the city of Mérida is located had a sex ratio ninety-three (Estadística, 1921).

It is worth highlighting than in all three cases, religious pluralism first took hold in the municipalities with the lowest sex ratio, which is with the largest proportion of females, where the largest cities were located, and with access to seaports or railroads. In the case of Campeche, the first missionary stations were in the municipalities of Campeche and Carmen, in the case of Tabasco, the most successful mission stations were in the municipalities of Paraíso, Centro (where the capital is located), and Comalcalco. Finally, in the case of Yucatán, the only region where Protestant missionaries were able to settle in the early expansion period was in the western part of the state, in the municipalities of Mérida, Progreso, Motul, Umán, Maxcanú, Muna, and Ticul.

Appendix 3.3.1. Population and Sex Ratios by State, 1895-1910

States	1895 Census					
	Total Population	Males	Females	Predominance		Sex Ratio
				Males	Females	
Campeche	88 121	41 898	46 223	0	4 325	91
Tabasco	134 839	67 007	67 832	0	825	99
Yucatán	298 850	146 374	152 476	0	6 102	96
Mexico	12 632 427	6 280 506	6 351 921	0	71 415	99
	1900 Census					
	Total Population	Males	Females	Predominance		Sex Ratio
				Males	Females	
Campeche	86 542	41 375	45 167	0	3 792	92
Tabasco	159 834	80 858	78 976	1 882	0	102
Yucatán	309 652	153 381	156 271	0	2 890	98
Mexico	13 607 259	6 752 118	6 855 141	0	103 023	98
	1910 Census					
	Total Population	Males	Females	Predominance		Sex Ratio
				Males	Females	
Campeche	86 661	44 075	42 586	1 489	0	103
Tabasco	187 574	92 542	95 032	0	2 490	97
Yucatán	339 613	168 025	171 588	0	3 563	98
Mexico	15 160 372	7 504 474	7 655 898	0	151 427	98

Sources:
(1) DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1985
(2) DGE. Censo General de la República Mexicana 1990
(3) DEG. Tercer Censo Población de la República Mexicana 1910

Appendix 3.3.2. Population by Gender and Sex Ratio in Selected Municipalities and Regions by State in 1921

Municipality and Regions	Population			Sex Ratio
	Males	Females	Total	
Campeche State Totals	37 995	38 424	76 419	99
Campeche	9 810	11 037	20 847	89
Carmen	6 879	6 998	13 877	98
Calkini	8 192	8 270	16 462	99
Palizada	1 879	1 866	3 745	101
Hecelchacán	3 299	3 258	6 557	101
Tenabo	1 533	1 463	2 996	105
Hopelchén	3 007	2 738	5 745	110
Champotón	3 396	2 794	6 190	122
Tabasco State Totals	103 495	106 942	210 437	97
Paraíso	3 896	4 212	8 108	92
Jalpa	4 073	4 327	8 400	94
Monte-Cristo	1 839	1 951	3 790	94
Centro	23 372	24 616	47 988	95
Comalcalco	7 998	8 378	16 376	95
Jalapa	4 811	5 039	9 850	95
Nacajuca	4 719	4 889	9 608	97
Canduacán	6 291	6 509	12 800	97
Cárdenas	6 418	6 626	13 044	97
Jonuta	2 584	2 656	5 240	97
Balancán	1 990	2 044	4 034	97
Teapa	4 235	4 331	8 566	98
Tenosique	1 846	1 869	3 715	99
Centla	7 316	7 399	14 715	99
Macuspana	9 771	9 875	19 646	99
Tacotalpa	4 055	4 081	8 136	99
Huimanguillo	8 281	8 140	16 421	102
Yucatán State Totals	179 105	179 116	358 221	100
Western Region 1 (Maxcanú)	15 548	14 751	30 299	105
Northwestern Region 2 (Mérida)	71 629	76 793	148 422	93
Central Region 3 (Izamal)	16 390	15 662	32 052	105
Central Coastal Region 4 (Motul)	17 690	16 915	34 605	105
Northeastern Region 5 (Tizimín)	9 867	9 430	19 297	105
Eastern Region 6 (Valladolid)	22 445	21 634	44 079	104
Southern Region 7 (Ticul)	25 536	23 931	49 467	107
Mexico	7 003 785	7 330 995	14 334 780	96

Source:
Censo General de Habitantes 1921. Tabulados básicos. DGE

Appendix 4.1. Places of Worship by Municipalities and Partidos in 1910

State	Municipality (Capital)	Roman Catholic Places of Worship							Non Roman Catholic
		Total	Cathedrals	Parishes	Churches	Chapels	*Oratorios*	Under Constructio	
Campeche	Campeche (Campeche)	43	1	1	19	20	2	0	0
	Hecelchakán	56	0	4	7	33	0	12	0
	Champotón	28	0	0	6	14	8	0	0
	Carmen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Los Chenes	32	0	5	8	19	0	0	0
	Zona de Pacíficos	40	0	2	0	0	38	0	0
Total		199	1	12	40	86	48	12	0
Tabasco	Centro (San Juan Bautista)	12	1	1	9	1	0	0	0
	Balancán	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
	Cárdenas	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Comalcalco	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
	Canduacán	8	0	1	4	3	0	0	0
	Frontera	8	0	0	7	1	0	0	0
	Huimanguillo	5	0	0	4	1	0	0	0
	Jalpa de Méndez	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
	Jalapa	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Conuta	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Macuspana	7	0	0	6	1	0	0	0
	Montecristo	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	Nacajuca	8	0	0	5	0	2	1	0
	Paraíso	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
	Tacotalpa	5	0	0	4	0	0	1	0
	Teapa	4	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
	Tenosique	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total		85	1	2	67	10	3	2	0
Yucatán	Mérida (Mérida)	57	1	4	20	26	3	3	1
	Acanceh	41	0	4	9	20	8	0	0
	Espita	23	0	4	3	14	2	0	0
	Hunucmá	41	0	2	8	12	19	0	0
	Izamal	37	0	3	12	18	4	0	0
	Maxcanú	35	0	4	6	12	11	2	0
	Motul	24	0	2	11	9	1	1	0
	Peto	11	0	1	3	6	1	0	0
	Progreso	4	0	0	1	3	0	0	0
	Sotuta	6	0	1	4	1	0	0	0

	Tekax	16	0	3	5	8	0	0	0
	Temax	23	0	1	9	12	0	1	0
	Ticul	48	0	6	8	29	5	0	0
	Tixkokob	21	0	5	6	8	2	0	0
	Tizimín	7	0	0	4	3	0	0	0
	Valladolid	29	0	2	19	6	1	1	0
Total		423	1	42	128	187	57	8	1

Sources:
Tercer Censo de Población de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 1910. Tabulados básicos. DGE

Appendix 4.2. Background of Anticlerical Movements in Mexico

During the first part of the 19th century, the tensions between the emerging Mexican state and the Roman Catholic Church. The first anticlerical laws attempted to limit the economic and political power of the Roman Catholic Church in 1833. The early secularization efforts confiscated agricultural lands belonging to the Jesuits, attempted to end the *diezmo* (tithe), limited the convents and nunneries, and attempted to end the monopoly that the Roman Catholic Church had over elementary education in Mexico (Canovas, 1987). The first attempt failed once the federal government was in the hands of the *conservadores* and in 1835 the Roman Catholic religion was named the national religion with exclusion of all others (Canovas, 1987).

The second attempt was made during the civil war between 1857 and 1860. The outcome, the *Leyes de Reforma*, aimed not only to separate the Roman Catholic Church and the State, but most importantly to limit the economic, political, and cultural power of the Church and to stimulate the economy by selling most of the confiscated Roman Catholic Church properties. The *Leyes de Reforma* established the nationalization of all non-ritual related properties of the Roman Catholic Church as well as that of *cofradias* and *hermandades*[46] (1859). The laws also created a civil registry office to record of all births, adoptions, marriages, and deaths, as well as established marriage as a civil contract (1859). Between 1857 and 1860, the *Leyes de Reforma* also established the secularization of the calendar, cemeteries, hospitals, charitable organizations, and education (1860). Most importantly, the *Leyes de Reforma* ensured the freedom of religion (de la Fuente Monge, 1997; Vigil, 1979).

[46] *Cofradias* and *hermandades* are religious brotherhoods or sisterhoods organized by Roman Catholic lay people to perform a specific work of charity or piety and approved by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The third and final attempt was in 1917 when the Mexican Constitution solidified the separation of the Roman Catholic Church and the State. The very strong anticlerical articles of the Constitution were based on the believe that the Roman Catholic Church had sided with the military rule of President Victoriano Huerta and that the Roman Catholic power needed to be reduced, if Mexico was to achieve modernity (Blancarte, 2009). During the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) on the one hand, the *Constitucionalistas* were the main anticlerical group contesting the power of the Roman Catholic Church, their strong nationalist liberal ideology wanted a to relegate the Roman Catholic Church to the private sphere. On the other hand, conservative groups as the *Villistas* and *Zapatistas* continued to support the role of the Roman Catholic Church in the formation of the new Mexican state. For example, the *Villistas* (with the exception of the caudillos Fierro and Urbina, and Priest Triana from Tabasco), the *Huertistas*, and the *Zapatistas*[47] were more tolerant towards the clergy. In fact, in many town ruled by the *Villistas,* churches that the *Constitucionalistas* had closed were reopen and *Zapatistas* offered safe heaven to priests escaping the *Constitucionalistas* (de la Fuente Monge, 1997).

In 1917, the liberal federal government consolidated the anticlerical sentiments of the nations in several articles of the Mexican Constitution. The Roman Catholic Church attempted to have the anticlerical articles removed, and when their efforts failed Roman Catholics in Jalisco where the Roman Catholic had been traditionally stronger, began the *Cristero* Rebellion. The conflict between the Roman Catholic Church the Federal and State governments continued until 1929. In 1918, President Carranza attempted to end the

[47] The *Zapatistas* in this document refers to the rural movement headed by Emiliano Zapata and his followers during the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920).

conflict by offering to amend the 1917 Constitution, but was unable to fulfill his promise (de la Fuente Monge, 1997).

During President Obregon's tenure (1920-1924), a strong *Constitucionalista*, the severed ties between the Roman Catholic Church and the Federal government began to mend although he was unable to amend the constitution. It was during Obregon's tenure that Catholic organization flourished, such as *Asociación Nacional de Padres de Familia* (National Association of Parents), *Caballeros de Colón* (Knights of Columbus), *Unión de Damas Católicas* (Catholic Women Union), *Congregación Marian* (Marian Congregation), *Confederación Nacional Católica del Trabajo* (National Catholic Association of Labor), and *Asociación Católica de la Juventud Mexicana* (Mexican Catholic Youth Association) (de la Fuente Monge, 1997). Not surprisingly, it was during this period that anticlerical organizations also began to grow, the most important was the *Federación Anticlerical Mexicana* founded in 1923 by the liberal Belén de Sárraga along with the magazine *Rumbos Nuevos* (New Direction) (de la Fuente Monge, 1997; Ramos, 2005).

Although the Roman Catholic response to the anticlerical tone of the Mexican Constitution started as early as 1917, the confrontations became violent in 1921. The confrontations between clerical (*Cristeros*) and anticlerical groups began to get more and more violent particularly in the central and western states of Mexico and continued until 1927. Tabasco was the only southern state in which anticlerical movements were violent starting in the 1920s and lasting until the tenure of Governor Garrido ended in 1936. The conflict between Roman Catholics and the State was at its highest during the presidency of General Calles (1924-1928) and it was during his tenure that the Mexican Catholic Apostolic Church was created in 1925 and when all Roman Catholic public services were suspended in 1926 (Matthew Butler, 2009). Although the Roman Catholic Church never

supported the *Cristero* Rebellion openly, it served to pressure the Federal and state governments into returning some of the privileges lost, particularly after President Calles' policies that further limited its presence and power in the country. With the support of the United States ambassador to Mexico, the state and the Roman Catholic Church agreed to a reconciliation in 1929 (de la Fuente Monge, 1997).

It is important to note that the anticlerical movement in Mexico was not an antireligious movement. It was during this time of conflict between the state and the Roman Catholic Church that Mexico received its largest migration of Jewish population and it was during this time that the government proposed the creation of the *Iglesia Apostólica Católica Mexicana* (Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church) (Blancarte, 2009; Matthew Butler, 2009). Contrary to the Roman Catholic Church, the Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church relied only on voluntary alms-giving, offered free sacraments, services in Latin were prohibited, religious taxes were abolished, and encourage the free interpretation of the Bible (Matthew Butler, 2009).

Although the changes made within the Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church ensured more economic freedom for the poor, the need for the priests to get closer to their following and create more similarities with the growing Protestant message, the Mexican Apostolic Catholic Church failed to obtain widespread support and official status forced it to disintegrate in the 1930s. It was also during this period also that Protestant affiliation was found for the first time in different regions of Mexico and it was during this period of extreme tension between the state and the Roman Catholic church that individuals were able to define their spirituality within the context of a new economic, political, and cultural context (Matthew Butler, 2009).

The final conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the state took place during President Cárdenas tenure (1934-1940) as well as their final reconciliation. The

conflict started when the government further restricted the role of the Roman Catholic Church in education. According to the new amendment all primary and secondary education in Mexico was to be secular and socialist, with the state being the only one able to impart it (de la Fuente Monge, 1997). The crisis brought up by the nationalization of the oil industry in 1938 finally ended the animosities that started almost 150 years earlier between the Roman Catholic Church and the state. The Roman Catholic Church supported the state's efforts to gain the public support needed to successfully nationalize the oil industry and, in exchange, the state turned a blind eye to the Roman Catholic Church involvement in primary and secondary schools and to the celebration of religious rituals in public spaces (de la Fuente Monge, 1997).

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